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*BYU Studies* is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual are complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. This periodical strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. It is committed to seeking truth “by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118) and recognizes that all knowledge without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible; they are “many members, yet but one body” (1 Cor. 12:20).

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Front Cover: Eighth Ward Relief Society, Bishop Sheets's Quilt
Salt Lake City, Utah, 1872
Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art

Back Cover: Women's Home Mission Society of Ogden, Antipolygamy Quilt
Ogden, Utah, 1882
Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art
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Sunrise in the Pines, Dorinda Moody Goheen Slade (1808–1895), Pine Valley, Utah, 1862. Collection of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City. Reproduced courtesy of Jeana Kimball. Dorinda was born in North Carolina and eventually settled in Texas, where she and her husband had a four-thousand-acre cotton plantation. Upon joining the Church, the couple freed their slaves, sold their farm, and prepared to “gather to Zion,” but Dorinda’s husband soon died, making her a widow for the second time. In time, she married a widower and headed west with a family of sixteen; several children died on the trail. Once in Utah, she and her family were sent to St. George to raise cotton. After a year of floods, drought, and searing heat, the family moved to Pine Valley, where Dorinda spent the rest of her life. This quilt celebrates both her hope, in spite of the loss of so many family members, and her home amid the evergreens of Pine Valley.
The Saint and the Grave Robber

Converted in the Australian goldfields, Frederick William Hurst and John de Baptiste became mining partners and fellow emigrants. But in Utah their paths made a Jekyll-and-Hyde split.

John Devitry-Smith

The colony of Victoria, Australia, produced one-third of the world’s gold found in the 1850s; as a result, every imaginable type of person converged on the area.¹ This assemblage, coupled with England’s earlier “social amputation” of its worst souls to what was then a place of perpetual exile, transformed the world’s largest island into what Robert Hughes in his classic book, The Fatal Shore, termed a “wicked Noah’s Ark” of small-time criminality.² Amid this upheaval, missionaries from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ventured into the goldfields in an ambitious attempt to gain a foothold in an area where supposedly “rum and gold was all the God” the people wanted.³

The Victorian goldfields particularly proved to be a Jekyll and Hyde of tragedy and triumph, where the age-old struggle between good and evil was magnified in one small area of the globe. Two converts of the Victorian goldfields, Frederick William Hurst and John de Baptiste, both members of the Castlemaine Branch and partners in the diggings, especially personify this relationship. These two men, apparently sharing many of the same hopes and dreams, traveled the road of life together for a time but eventually met greatly contrasting fates.

Fred Hurst’s experiences, while opening a window on the origins of the Church in Victoria, more significantly demonstrate a metamorphosis from a happy-go-lucky teenager with seemingly little religious inclination to a stalwart defender of the faith with an unshakable commitment to the Latter-day Saint cause. Although a

¹ BYU Studies 33, no. 1 (1993)
virtual unknown in LDS Church history, Fred quickly became one of those quiet people vital to the Church's success. Apostle John A. Widtsoe recalls of Hurst: "[He] had a marked effect upon my life, for I never have spoken with him without feeling that I had received a lift, and was better prepared to carry on in my work."⁴

In direct contrast, a recent article in the *Deseret News* writes of John de Baptiste: "The worst villain in Salt Lake City's early history probably wasn't a murderer or even a member of a band of outlaws. Probably the most gruesome criminal was a grave robber who desecrated as many as 300 burial sites in the city's cemetery"; while "much space has been given to writing about the 'Monster of the Great Salt Lake,' if there was a monster, Baptiste is the best real-life candidate."⁵ Wilford Woodruff records Baptiste's deeds as "the most Damnable [sic], Diabolical, Satanical, Helish Sacraleges [sic] . . . recorded in the History of man."⁶ Historian Dale L. Morgan adds that the Baptiste affair provided "Great Salt Lake with the strangest episode in its whole history."⁷

Complexion of the Victoria Goldfields

The lure of gold was the impetus for both Baptiste's and Hurst's decisions to venture to Australia, a country still considered a vast prison for England's criminals, an idea perpetuated since the landing of the first convict ship in 1788.⁸ An article in the *Times and Seasons* of April 1845, for example, refers to the colonies as "the great depot for the transportation of British convicts,"⁹ enforcing the idea of Australia as a less than desirable place to live, let alone serve a mission. Indeed, in writing of his mission call to Australia, Thomas Threves referred to what a searing experience it had been for the last organized group of American missionaries assigned to Victoria in 1856:

Friends . . . informed me that I was called to Australasia, and offered me their sympathy. During the remainder of the week I was the recipient of innumerable condolences. One brother said to me "That's the hardest mission in the world . . . some of the men who were last called to labour in that field [Victoria] [—]educated and experienced preachers—returned in ten months utterly discouraged." . . . Another said "As good a Mormon as I am, I would rather go to Purgatory and preach to the spirits in prison than to take your mission." . . . And finally another one said . . . "The kind of missionary needed in that land is a man like Orson Pratt."¹₀
When the first LDS missionaries arrived in Australia, their impressions at times seemed contradictory, but the general tenor of their reports was very negative. Charles Wandell, who organized the first branch of the Church in Victoria, illustrates this point: “These colonies have been underated, because they were formerly convict colonies; but permit me to assure you that it would be difficult, even in England to find a more orderly, decent, and hard working population than exists here.”\textsuperscript{11} But later, Wandell stated: “Australia is the hell into which England casts her devils, and the diggings are the deepest, most fearful pits thereof. Here are literally swarms of convicts, who are absolutely and entirely lost to all fear of God or regard to man.”\textsuperscript{12}

Similarly, Augustus Farnham, the third president of the Australasian mission, more often noted the hellish aspects of the area:

[1853] [They] are as hard a set of beings as I ever met.\textsuperscript{13}

[1854] It is true, the people of these lands are a peculiar people, being generally dead to interests of religion, caring but little what the true principles of the gospel are; it may, indeed, be said of them, that their faith is a mere tradition, their worship an empty form, the impression being transitory, ending with the service, when they again devote themselves to gold and pleasure. But withal, there are some as good and honest people in these lands, as can be found on the earth.\textsuperscript{14}

[1855] This wicked people are addicted to every vice. It requires men of some experience to stand the test within the midst of the persecution we have to meet.\textsuperscript{15}

[1856] This is a land of darkness. The devil himself I believe is ashamed of many of these inhabitants [and] if he is not I am.\textsuperscript{16}

Although the American missionaries did not often clarify the specific areas in Australia deserving of their most stinging criticism, apparently the colony of Victoria was the worst offender. Farnham reports of Victoria: “It does appear that almost all who have been driven adrift by the different winds of spirits have been driven to this part of the world being the most abandoned characters who disregard all principles of morality Victoria being the greatest sewer of iniquity on account of its being strictly the mining colony has the greatest number of such men.”\textsuperscript{17}

Similar sentiments were echoed by Burr Frost, presiding elder over the Victorian Conference from 1853 to 1854: “I generally meet
in this country the most profane men of all that [are] addicted to bad habits." \(^{18}\) Reflecting on country and people, Joseph Kelly, missionary to Victoria and Tasmania from 1856 to 1857, wrote, "This is as near the gates of hell I wish to be," adding that he felt little desire to convert the people as "they would only be a curse to our Society at home." \(^{19}\)

**Frederick Hurst’s Conversion and Mission**

Mingled in the Australian crowd were John de Baptiste and Frederick William Hurst, two of the estimated 463,000 people to arrive in Victoria between 1851 and 1861. \(^{20}\) Hurst had immigrated with his family from the British Isles to New Zealand in 1840 and at the age of nineteen had decided to join a company of six other men to try his luck in the goldfields. \(^{21}\) Fred recorded his initial impressions upon landing at Port Phillip, Melbourne, in the later part of 1852: \(^{22}\)

> The city was literally crowded with people. It seemed to me they were from all nations. All was hustle and confusion. Large nuggets of gold were to be seen in the Broker’s windows also large piles of souvenirs [sic] and bank notes, specimens of gold quartz. All kinds of reports were in circulation respecting the mines. . . . The roads were lined with teams of all kinds, people of all nations and colours and grades, some few respectable, but the more part escaped convicts, cutthroats, murderers, thieves, gamblers, blacklegs; in fact to make a long story short, the skum [sic] of the earth were there. To use a common expression, "all hell let loose." \(^{23}\)

A contemporary description of Melbourne at the height of the gold rush in the early 1850s agrees with Hurst’s description, calling the city a “modern Tower of Babel, the resort of hooligans, drunks and gamblers, one of the circles of Hell come upon Earth." \(^{24}\)

Eager to leave Melbourne and begin, Hurst’s group walked seventy muddy miles to Forest Creek (near Castlemaine), where, being inexperienced, they dug in “the most unlikely places.” After two weeks of back-breaking labor, out of money and in debt, the disillusioned party disbanded, and all but Fred sold their tools. Left with sixpence but determined to make good in the goldfields, Fred found work at a store some distance from Melbourne. There he made enough money to get started again. At the same time, he
Victoria, Australia. The map shows Port Phillip Bay, where Hurst landed, as well as Bendigo and Castlemaine, the areas where Hurst and de Baptiste worked in the goldfields.
became more acquainted with the area and learned how to stay away from trouble.25

Fred recounted the constant dangers of everyday life:

Not a day or night passed but what some dreadful tragedy would happen. For instance, I was at Moonlight Flat, one man armed with pistols met an elderly gentleman, stopped him in sight of hundreds of men in open daylight and demanded his money or his life. He handed over his money to the robber, walked on about twelve steps, turned and fired at the villain and shot him in the back of the neck and he fell in the road. The gentleman then returned to the body, got his money and left the fellow in his blood. Again, on Montgomery hill close by, two men quarreled, one seized a double barrel gun, fired at his partner and blew his mouth and one side of his face away, the blood and brains flew all over the wall of the house. Again, nearer still, close by our store a man was shot dead. He had robbed Mr. Steel’s store of a bag of flour weighing 200 pounds. Mr. Steel watched him come out from the back of the store, fired at him and he fell dead in the public street. The young man who had stolen the flour was well off. Times would fail me to record even one hundredth part of what daily occurred.25

Leaving the store in January 1853, Fred went again to the diggings of Bendigo, where he met an old acquaintance from New Zealand by the name of Francis Evans. Fred had previously known Evans as a “very zealous Methodist,”27 but unknown to Fred, Evans had been investigating the Mormon church. In Bendigo, Fred “made money hand over fist”28 until news of the death of his father forced his return to New Zealand. Fred’s family was overjoyed to see him again, his sister Amelia “crying with joy.” Little could Fred have realized the wedge soon to be driven between them, resulting in his name being stricken from the family Bible.

After a brief stay, Fred decided to return to the goldfields, this time accompanied by his brothers Alfred and Charles Clement and by their friend, Thomas Holder.29 They arrived in Melbourne in late October 1853. The group made the fateful decision to stay overnight at the home of Francis Evans. At the Evans’s home, the three Hurst brothers and Thomas Holder were introduced to an American elder, Burr Frost.30 Frost, along with Paul Smith, was part of a group of ten American missionaries who had landed in Sydney, Australia, in late March 1853 and were assigned to Victoria.31

Previous attempts to establish a mission in the colony of Victoria had made little headway. John Murdock, first president
Marking the Claim. By Samuel T. Gill, who went to the goldfields in 1852, traveling to Castlemaine, Mount Alexander, and Bendigo. The next year he published this and twenty-three other sketches of the goldfields (see n. 134). Courtesy of the State Library of Victoria.
of the Australasian mission, arrived in Melbourne on December 19, 1851, with little more than pocket change and a "quantity of books" but found "few men in the city" and the people "in a perfect uproar." After a stay of about ten days "of extreme difficulty," feeling the situation a hopeless one, Murdock decided to return to Sydney.32

Charles Wandell arrived in Melbourne the following year, three weeks after Fred Hurst and company landed from New Zealand.33 Wandell preached outdoors to what he considered "orderly congregations" and before leaving Melbourne had organized a "very promising little branch."34 Burr Frost, sent to Melbourne to follow up on Wandell’s initial inroads, had been set apart as the presiding elder of the Victorian Conference.35

As Evans had a cabin in the goldfields and would be remaining in Melbourne for a time, he asked Fred and company if they would like to live there, taking care of the place until his return. They readily agreed to this proposal.36 The next day, the four men continued on to the diggings, arriving at the cabin five days later. On a Sunday night the following week, to the surprise of the Hurst brothers and Thomas Holder, who were still at dinner, a number of Francis Evans’s friends arrived, declaring they were going to hold a meeting. Fred asked one of the "preachers," William Cooke, if he would take a cup of coffee, and a conversation commenced.37 Fred, remembering Evans as an avid Methodist, was eager to be on his way, as were Charles Clement and Thomas, but Alfred, being quite religious, implored them to stay.38

Fred Hurst remembers the deep and lasting impression Cooke left on him the first time he heard the elder preach, an account most revealing as to the methods of proselyting for the era:

The preacher [William Cooke] came out and said we had better come in for he would do us no harm. I thought it would look rather disrespectful if we went away, so concluded to stay. Well, shortly afterwards the meeting commenced. I must confess I was struck at the peculiarity of the hymns. The hymn books were in pamphlet form and headed “Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints”. I thought to myself, the Methodists are getting up. If I was astonished at the hymns and tunes, I was still more so at the prayer that was offered up by the preacher. He prayed to the Lord to bless the Prophet, Seer and Revelator, Brigham Young, his counselors [sic], the twelve Apostles and others. I was full of wonder and curiosity. I never had such feelings before in my life. I asked myself the question, "Who can Brigham Young be?" and again, “Who can the twelve apostles be?” It would be impossible for me to tell the hundredth part of what passed through my mind.
After singing another hymn the preacher read a passage from the Book of Mormon. "What book can that be?" thought I to myself. I would very much like to read it for I had never heard that there was such a book before. Well, to proceed, the preacher also read part of the 15th chapter of St. Marks Gospel, and then preached Faith, repentance, Baptism for the remission of sins, also the gift of the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands. Talked about Joseph Smith, gave us a brief history of the Church, the persecutions, etc. I cannot describe my feelings. I could not help paying deep attention, yea, I felt inspired, my heart was drawn towards the speaker, I watched for every word for it seemed good to my soul.\textsuperscript{39}

Ironically, as soon as Cooke and his associates had departed, Alfred, supposedly the more religious of the three brothers, "commenced a long tirade against the Mormons," warning his brothers that the Mormons were "a very dangerous people who practiced plurality of wives, a most abominable doctrine."\textsuperscript{40}

Nevertheless, Fred and Charles Clement Hurst decided to investigate this newfound oddity for themselves. Fred recalled, "We attended every Mormon meeting and most every evening we went and heard them sing. I got real fond of their company, though the good Christians called us fools, said we were deluded."\textsuperscript{41}

In the weeks following, Fred and his group worked hard and long hours but extracted very little gold, and Alfred talked of returning home. With the arrival of Francis Evans and family, Fred Hurst admitted, "We had Mormonism from morning until night, and might I say from night til morning." Alfred Hurst could get no peace and finally, after staying three weeks, returned to New Zealand, taking what little gold and cash his companions had.\textsuperscript{42} Fred and Alfred's brotherly friendship would never be the same.

Fred and Charles Clement Hurst were baptized January 12, 1854, followed by Thomas Holder the next week.\textsuperscript{43} Less than two months after being baptized, Fred and Charles Clement wrote home, detailing their conversion and stating how excited they were to bring their family the news of the restored gospel. The brothers thought that as soon as the family heard the "truth" they would readily accept it. However, the two men were dreadfully mistaken. Their mother and sisters wrote back letters that "contained no arguments" but were "full of false accusations and abuse towards
Joseph Smith and the Church in general," adding that they were ashamed to own the brothers any longer as members of the family. Fred reflects:

My heart was so sore I could not forbear shedding tears. I then began to realize that I had to round up my shoulders, though forsaken by my own dear mother, brothers, and sisters, and obey all the commandments of God as far and as fast as they were made known to me. . . .
To tell the truth, after this I began to realize that all those who obeyed the requirements of the gospel were nearer and dearer to me than all my former friends or relatives. Well, we wrote home repeatedly but received no answer to our letters, although I stated in them if they would prove from the Bible that the doctrines of even Polygamy was unscriptural I would renounce Mormonism. 44

Fred continued to write and beg for a fair hearing but to no avail. To each family member, he wrote personal letters similar to the following one addressed to his older brother Alfred:

Do you think we would have left our home, and dear mother and sisters behind on mere belief. Again do you think for one moment we lie when we say we know the gospel is true and that it came from God? Do you think we would risk our salvation in this manner? O my dear brother I beg and entreat you to examine these principles and obey them, and then to ask God for a testimony and he will give it to you. 45

But Fred’s efforts were in vain, and after three years nothing had changed. Fred recorded part of a letter he received from his sister Amelia: "She is very much opposed to Mormonism. Wants to know how long Clem is to be a slave to those witches." 46 Because Fred was Charles Clement’s older brother, he carried the blame for Charles Clement having joined the Church.

The impact that the local members such as Hurst had on the growth of the Church cannot be underestimated, since much of American Elder Burr Frost’s time was spent at Melbourne while Elder Paul Smith concentrated on Geelong. Correspondence reveals very little headway was made in those respective areas. Bad weather had restricted Frost to less than half a dozen meetings in the first five months in Melbourne. 47

With never enough experienced preachers to cover so wide an area, the mission president was forced to continually travel, giving counsel and checking that all was in order. While trying to watch
over present converts and at the same time open new ground, the mission was forced to improvise with whatever men they had that were willing to be called to help further the gospel message. Fred Hurst, for example, was called within months of his baptism and “ordained to preach in the Bendigo Gold mines and build up the saints scattered over the country.”48 Little regard was given concerning his inexperience and his inability to bear his testimony, let alone conduct a meeting. Fred admitted “when called upon to speak in public I [would] commence trembling.”49

The following experience by Hurst helps illustrate the burden some of the new converts were willing to shoulder on behalf of the Church. After being called on his first mission to Golden Gully, Bendigo, Fred writes of his arrival and subsequent tribulations:

The Brothers and Sisters were all very glad to see me. . . . I felt determined to do my best though I had never preached before. . . . Well the first time I got the Saints together I opened the meeting with prayer, but could not muster the courage to address the Saints, consequently I read portion of the Millennial Star, and as I did not speak myself I felt ashamed to call upon anyone else. I felt real miserable for I felt I was not doing my duty. Sunday come and we had quite a congregation, but I felt worse than I did on Wednesday evening previous although I had prayed and fasted. The very thought of preaching made me loath the sight of food, it took away my appetite entirely.

Before going to meeting I would resolve in my own mind to speak, but as soon as the second hymn was sung I would be seized by a trembling fit, all ideas would flee from my mind and I would have to take up the Star or some other book and read. However, on Wednesday while at work I got in conversation with a man and preached to him about the Gospel. While talking with him I told him if he would come up to meeting that evening he would hear an Elder preach on the first principals of the Gospel. He promised he would come. After he had left me I began to reflect on what I had told him respecting the meeting. I turned sick at the idea. I could not eat my supper but I washed myself and went down hoping the man would not be there, but all my hopes were turned to slopes, for there the man sat as large as life. I cannot describe my feelings at this time, but after saluting him I went into the woods alone and besought the Lord to have compassion on me. After doing so I felt relieved and returned. We opened the meeting and in spite of all hell I arose to my feet, opened to the 3rd chapter of St. John’s Gospel, and after reading a few verses my tongue was loosened and before I was aware of it I was preaching. I never have spoken more freely in my life, and it was a strong testimony to me of the truth of Mormonism, and I felt thankful beyond
measure and with my whole heart I praised my maker. The brethren
and sisters were very much astonished but not more so than myself.\textsuperscript{50}

Near the end of December 1854, Fred Hurst received instructions to relocate to Castlemaine\textsuperscript{51} and begin preparations to leave for Zion, as plans were being made by Burr Frost to have a company ready the following year. In Castlemaine, Fred had great success in the diggings, after entering into a partnership with recent convert John de Baptiste. Hurst and Baptiste worked well together and each cleared $1,000 the first six weeks.\textsuperscript{52}

**Baptiste’s Conversion**

At the outset, Baptiste seemed to fit the mold of “religious seeker,” while in contrast Hurst appeared a more unlikely candidate for baptism as he had an honest skepticism towards religion in general. Nevertheless both men had made a strong commitment to the Church soon after hearing the gospel message: Hurst accepted missionary calls and Baptiste donated his own property for Church use. Both also answered the call to gather with the main body of the Saints in Utah.

While sources provide insight into Fred Hurst’s conversion, very little remains to illuminate Baptiste’s motives or intentions in joining the Church or the turn his character took.

Baptiste was born in 1814, reportedly in Venice, Italy,\textsuperscript{53} and was attracted to the Australian goldfields in the early 1850s. He first came in contact with the Church in 1854 at Castlemaine, Victoria. Baptiste had called at the elders’ tent just outside Castlemaine, inquiring if he could in some way help cover the costs of the “Church of Christ.” Burr Frost, who was present with a number of other elders, asked Baptiste his name and what he believed. Baptiste answered that he could not speak English very well but believed the Bible to be the word of God.\textsuperscript{54}

A conversation followed, and Baptiste told them he had been raised as a Roman Catholic from youth, but he saw much error in it and concluded to join the Church of England, thinking they might be right. He soon tired of them and joined the Methodists and had up to the present time been “advocating their principles.” Elder Frost
replied that the men in the tent were preachers and explained in detail the scriptures and organization of the Church. Baptiste got in "quiet [sic] a frenzy" and called out "I will become a baby, I will become a baby, I want to be baptized." Frost told him not to be in a hurry, that he should carefully consider what they had talked about before making any hasty decisions. "No, No, No I want to be baptized," responded Baptiste.  

Following Baptiste's baptism, Burr Frost and James McKnight were requested by Baptiste to accompany him home. He took them to downtown Castlemaine and showed them a wooden-frame chapel about 60' x 35' in size, constructed with the best materials and supplied with good seats, chandeliers, and a pulpit. "There, Beloved Brethren, you shall have that to preach in. It is my own property, I have built it with my own hands and at my own expense," stated Baptiste. He had partitioned off a small section of the building to live in and informed the elders that he had been in the habit of holding meetings every Sunday.

The building was an asset to the local missionaries who previously had had no option other than to speak in the open air or the confines of a tent. Fred Hurst recalls it was the first time he had ever spoken in a chapel with a pulpit. Baptiste's "chapel" was also used by the Church members for business affairs such as the payment of gold.

Hurst's and Baptiste's Immigration Journeys

Burr Frost had been working for some time to organize the first exodus of converts from Victoria to Utah. Hurst and Baptiste were among the seventy-two passengers who left Hobson's Bay on April 27, 1855, aboard the ill-fated Tarquinia. An old craft, the Tarquinia started leaking after leaving Tahiti and docked for repairs at Honolulu, where a great number of bad feelings surfaced among the group. A number of the passengers, Baptiste among them, decided to remain at Honolulu, feeling they could no longer continue with the company, in part because they doubted the Tarquinia would ever get to San Pedro, California. Over a week later, the vessel sailed again, but after three days, gale force winds strained the vessel so much she began to leak badly on both sides, forcing the captain to
return to Honolulu. Further repairs proved fruitless, and the ship was sold for salvage.  

At Honolulu work was hard to find, but Baptiste was apparently financially secure. He became part of a branch organized by John T. Caine on August 19, 1855, and was ordained a teacher. The majority of the passengers had no money or means to continue on to San Francisco. Fred Hurst, who had approximately $1,000 in gold sewn up in his clothing, characteristically turned all of it over to Church leaders, leaving himself almost penniless, unemployed, and stranded in Honolulu. The local mission leader, eager to take advantage of Hurst’s missionary zeal, asked him to accept a mission among the natives, to which he agreed. For Fred Hurst, hardship and trials seemed to accompany his joining the Church, but his humble heart and ability to make the best of any situation was revealed during the time he proselytized on the island of Waialua in the Sandwich Islands:

I spent the day pleasantly thinking how much better off I am now than I was before I became a member of the Kingdom of God, not in the things of the world, for I have only a suit of clothes and they have seen their best days, for I see my elbows begin to show through my coat sleeves. I am almost barefoot. I have an old pair of low shoes and every now and then I have to take them off and empty the sand out of them as the roads are very sandy and heavy. I have no socks. . . . I do not look for my reward in this life, I look for it in the world to come. I think sometime when I begin to get lonely what Jesus Christ suffered, also the apostles, Joseph Smith and others, and then I feel as if I ought to suffer at times. For one thing I do know it is with much tribulation that we enter the kingdom, and unless I run the race, how can I expect to win the prize. I try to cast all care aside and put my trust in the Lord. My earnest desire is to get the language of this people so I can declare the Gospel of Christ in its purity unto them. No one can tell, except by experience, what pleasure it is to stand up and bear testimony to the truthfulness of this work in the Hawaiian language. I realize already that it pays for all trouble of learning it. So much for my thoughts.

Fred served faithfully until his release in October 1856. The following month, Fred sailed for San Francisco along with his brother Charles Clement, who had not yet turned eighteen. They landed with thirty-seven and one-half cents between them. Here Hurst and Baptiste crossed paths again. Baptiste had arrived in San Francisco
in late February 1856 and was still there in April 1857. Baptiste gave Fred, who had no warm clothing, a “good cloth coat.”

Despite his success in the Victorian goldfields and his dire financial situation, Fred never hinted at trying the California diggings. Fred’s desire for gold had turned to souls and upon being informed that there was a shortage of elders in the conference, Fred and Charles Clement decided upon a mission to Northern California. Since joining the Church three years earlier, Fred had been continually engaged in missionary work, which had taken its toll on him both physically and mentally. In the following weeks, Fred wrote:

I have felt a kind of low spirit this last day or two. I seem to be tired in both mind and body. I feel there is a great responsibility resting on me, and I feel to realize it more every day. It makes me feel my own nothingness and I feel like putting my trust in the Lord at all times. . . .
The Saints all tell me I look pale and thin. I weighed myself when I was in Stockton and instead of weighing 152 lbs I lack 20 of it. The most I could go, walking stick and all, was 132 lbs.

Shortly after, George Q. Cannon met with Fred and Charles Clement and told them “not to kill [themselves] traveling all over the country.” During this time, Elder Cannon also gave Fred a blessing.

In the latter part of September, Fred was sent on a “special mission” to warn all the Saints to be ready to gather “at a moment’s notice” as government troops were marching on Utah.

Finally, in early October, Fred started for Utah via San Bernardino, arriving in Salt Lake City on March 20, 1858. The following week, he was present to hear Brigham Young speak in the Tabernacle and wrote: “I have felt to rejoice all the day long. I realize that it is a very great privilege to listen to the teachings of the Fountainhead, or the First Presidency. Oh how long and anxious I have looked forward to the day when I could see the Prophets, Brigham, Heber, and hear their voices.”

**Baptiste’s Grave Robbing**

Baptiste had also made his way to Salt Lake City around the same time as Hurst and by 1859 had been hired to dig graves and bury the dead at the Salt Lake Cemetery east of the city. He built a small
John Baptist,
MANUFACTURER OF
TRUSSES OF ALL KINDS & SIZES,
RIDING BELTS, SUSPENSORIES, KNEE CAPS,
LACED STOCKINGS, WOODEN LEGS, ABDOMINAL BELTS, CHEST SUSPENDERS,
Dr. LISTON'S SLIDE SPLINTS &c., &c.

RESIDENCE 144 BROADWAY, CORNER OF POWELL.

The attention of the Medical Faculty is specially directed to the above articles, which are manufactured in the most perfect manner for the purpose intended.

Advertisement placed by John de Baptiste. The advertisement appeared in the 1857 Western Standard, which was published in San Francisco and was edited by George Q. Cannon.
home next to the graveyard and shortly thereafter married "a simple minded woman." Together they opened a millinery and tailor's shop.75

His ghoulish, illegal activities came to light January 27, 1862, but his crime first began to unravel four weeks earlier when a gang of half a dozen lowlifes took it upon themselves to pay back then Governor John W. Dawson, who was fleeing from Utah. Already resented and very unpopular, Dawson had apparently made "improper proposals" to a well-known Salt Lake "Society Lady," who resented his advances and informed friends of his conduct. Despite Dawson's quiet and quick exit from Salt Lake, the gang soon overtook the mail stage, almost beat Dawson to death, and robbed the stagecoach.74

By January 16, 1862, three of the gang members were dead. Moroni "Rone" Clawson and another were shot to death on 200 South in Salt Lake City while trying to escape from police.75 Clawson's body initially went unclaimed and thus by default was buried in the north Salt Lake cemetery. Local police officer Henry Heath, in a humanitarian gesture, paid to have Clawson properly clothed for burial. In the days following, some of Clawson's family obtained permission from the sexton, Jesse C. Little, to exhume the body and remove it to Draper, but upon opening the coffin, they found the body naked. Shortly thereafter, George Clawson confronted Officer Heath, expressing his disgust over how his brother had been buried in such a disgraceful manner, despite the lawman's adamant denial to the contrary. A frustrated and suspicious Heath soon confided in probate judge Elias Smith, who ordered him to look into the matter.76

In an effort to quietly resolve the affair, Heath first approached Sexton Jesse C. Little, who could shed no light on the event. From there Officer Heath, George Clawson, and two other men traveled to Baptiste's home on Third Avenue, where they found only his wife at home. While making inquiries about her husband's whereabouts, the men could not help noticing numerous boxes inside the house. A casual glance inside one of the boxes raised gasps of horrid surprise, for it revealed a "motley sickening heap of fresh-soiled linen" and "funeral shrouds."77 Many bundles of grave clothes were found throughout Baptiste's house, along with a large box filled with infant's clothing, about sixty pairs of children's shoes, and "about a
dozen men's garments including shirts, caps, socks and many parts of suits of females."^78

After the initial shock, Officer Henry Heath became particularly incensed over the morbid discovery. He feared the grave of his "idolized" daughter, who had been recently buried in the cemetery, had also been desecrated. With personal feelings overriding his professional calling, Heath calculated the killing of Baptiste then and there in the graveyard if his suspicions should be confirmed.\(^79\)

The men then proceeded through the snow to the cemetery and found Baptiste. One report has Baptiste picking up cobble stones.\(^80\) Another has him working in the frozen ground digging a new grave. Baptiste was reportedly wearing a "broadcloth Prince Albert suit" in which a local saloonkeeper had recently been buried. Officer Henry Heath later wrote of the confrontation:

I at once charged him with robbing the dead and he fell upon his knees calling God to witness that he was innocent. The evidence was too strong and I choked the wretch into a confession when he begged for his life as a human being never pleaded before. I dragged him to a grave near my daughter's and pointing to it inquired: "Did you rob that grave?" His reply was "Yes." Then directing his attention to the mound of earth which covered my child's remains I repeated the question with bated breath and with the firm resolve to kill him should he answer in the affirmative. "No, no, not that one; not that one." That answer saved the miserable coward's life.^81

A second-hand account by John R. Young states Baptiste was first taken to the grave of Moroni Clawson and accused by George Clawson, the dead man's brother, of robbing the body:

George Clawson, the dead man's brother jerked him [Baptiste] out of the hole, jammed the pistol against his temple, and said, "tell me who robbed my brother, or I will kill you, and bury you in the hole you are digging"? the man on his knees confessed he was the robber. The people went wild, rushed the grave yard, opened their graves and found, so many of their loved ones robbed.\(^82\)

Heath continued, "The news of our discovery and Baptiste's confession spread like wildfire, and it was with difficulty that we got him to the county jail in safety."^83

Oddly, the Deseret News made no mention of the Baptiste saga at the time. The possibility of an angry crowd getting out of hand and lynching Baptiste seemed a real possibility, and the newspaper
probably did not wish to throw any more fuel on such a volatile issue. Nevertheless, the whole population seemed aware of the crime by the following evening, “creating a great Consternation through the City.”

Late afternoon, the day following his exposure, Baptiste was carted back to the cemetery to identify the graves he had robbed, but he would point out only about a dozen for fear the people would rise up in anger and kill him. For his own safety when returning to the jail, Baptiste lay flat in a wagon bed, covered with a blanket to screen him from the public view. Early January 28, 1862, all the clothes found in the Baptiste’s house were displayed at the county courthouse, where “several hundred funeral suits” covered a “broad table fifty feet in length.” During the day, hundreds passed through, examining and identifying most of the clothing. The pathetic spectacle of a grief-stricken mother identifying articles of clothing from a child or a “husband or wife recognizing the funeral apparel of the life partner who had preceded them into the unseen world” was a sight not quickly forgotten.

The following day, January 29, “ten or eleven” graves that Baptiste had denied robbing were dug up with “3 or 4” of the bodies found stripped. The “considerable dirt with the bodies” made the viewing a morbid sight. Another pathetic feature was the fact that Baptiste had not only stripped the bodies but dumped them out of their coffins, which he used for kindling wood “with no more concern than if he were eating his dinner.” Other graves Baptiste admitted to robbing were also opened, and as expected, all the bodies were found naked.

Further questioning revealed that Baptiste had been “carrying on his hellish work” for the past three and a half years, claiming his only motive was to sell the clothes. But another police officer, Albert Dewey, states Baptiste hoarded the clothes about his house as a miser would his gold, admitting “the devil was in him.” Baptiste also confessed that he had robbed the dead in Australia and built a meeting house with the avails of the robbery (the chapel which was used by the missionaries in Australia).

Reports estimated Baptiste had robbed about three hundred graves, principally those of women and children. At first many
doubted that such a thing could possibly happen, but further reopened graves revealed many bodies stripped of their clothing. The locals became so incensed over the situation that it was only with the greatest difficulty that the police were able to control the mobs that gathered each day at the prison and threatened to lynch Baptiste.89

The police locked Baptiste in the “farthest recesses of the jail.” Had they not, wrote Judge Elias Smith, “the populace would have torn him to pieces, such was the excitement produced by the unheard of occurrence.” Wild stories began circulating through the city. Some had dreams; others claimed to have heard rapping on the floor, on the bedstead, and on tables, imagining that they were hearing from the spirits of the dead calling upon their friends.90

Burying the dead in the proper clothing was of great importance to the people at the time. In Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah, Anthon Cannon helps shed some light on why this issue was so sensitive:

A Mr. F [sic] of Salt Lake dreams that his mother dies, and is buried “improperly dressed,” meaning not in regulation LDS burial clothing. Six months later his mother dies, and he reminded his father of the dream. His father assured him that everything would be done properly. The evening after the burial, his sister found some of the mother’s clothing which should have been put on her. They dug the woman up and put the clothing on her.91

In response to intense public feeling reaching a “feverish state of excitement” and the wide concern of the people for their dead, Brigham Young addressed the issue at the Salt Lake Tabernacle on February 9, 1862:

“It appears that a man named John Baptiste has practiced robbing the dead of their clothing in our grave yard during some five years past. If you wish to know what I think about it, I answer, I am unable to think so low as to fully get at such a mean contemptible, trick. . . .

“Many are anxious to know what effect it will have upon their dead who have been robbed. . . . [W]e have done our duty in this particular, and I for one am satisfied. . . . the Saints will come forth with all the glory, beauty, and excellency of resurrected Saints clothed as they were when they were laid away.

“Some may inquire whether it is necessary to put fresh linen into the coffins of those who have been robbed. . . . I will promise you that
they will be well clothed in the resurrection, for the earth and the
elements around it are full of these things. . . . I would let my friends lay
and sleep in peace. I am aware of the excited state of the feelings of
the community; I have little to say about the cause of it; the meaness
of the act is so far beneath my comprehension that I have not ventured
to think much about it.”

Soon after the community agreed to gather up the funeral clothing
and have the police bury the whole bundle in one grave at the cemetery.
Baptiste remained in jail for about three months before his fate of banishment was finally decided. A suggestion was proposed
earlier by Brigham Young in his Tabernacle address:

“To hang a man for such a deed would not begin to satisfy my
feelings. What shall we do with him? Shoot him? No, that would do no
good to anybody but himself. Would you imprison him during life? That
would do nobody any good. What I would do with him came to me
quickly, after I heard of the circumstances: this I will mention, before
I make other remarks. If it was left to me, I would make him a fugitive
and a vagabond upon the earth. This would be my sentence, but
probably the people will not want this done.”

Salt Lake’s “John the Baptist” had became “such a hated object
that the sooner and further away he got from sight without being put
under ground, himself, the better every one would feel.” The grave
robber was taken initially to Antelope Island in a wagon across a
bar through the briny water which at the time was scarcely more
than knee deep. Baptiste was met as planned by boatmen at Antele-
lope Island and rowed to an island about five miles north called
Freemont Island.

Before Baptiste was allowed to continue with the waiting
boatmen to his final destination of Freemont Island, he was tattooed
with indelible ink, “not seared with hot irons as many have be-
lieved,” with the words “Branded for Robbing the Dead.” Another
contemporary account says that his ears were cut off, and he was
branded on the forehead with the words “GRAVE ROBBER.” Officer
Albert Dewey stated at the time, “Whatever the indignities, there had
been provocation enough.”

Freemont Island was often referred to as Millers Island because
two brothers, Henry and Dan Miller, had for some time been using
the island for their stock. They had erected a small shanty stocked
with basic provisions, which they used on odd occasions while checking on their stock. Calling at the island about three weeks after Baptiste’s initial banishment, the Millers found him “getting along very well in his loneliness.” A second trip to Freemont Island three weeks later found no trace of the exile. Albert Dewey remembered: “The roof and parts of the sides of the cabin had been torn off. A part of the carcass of a three-year old heifer was lying on the ground a short distance away, and portions of the hide were near by, cut into thongs. It was evident that with the tools found in the cabin Baptiste had killed the heifer, built a raft from the logs and timber of the shanty and with this had made his escape from the island.”

As to Baptiste’s final fate, Dewey added:

The general belief is that he made his escape to the mainland on the north, somewhere near the Promontory; and it was reported some time afterward, on what would seem to be unquestioned authority that he was seen in a Montana mining camp and on being closely questioned by one who recognized him, confessed to being Jean Baptiste and related how he made his escape. Another rumor is that he joined himself to a westbound emigrant train, went to the coast where he lived for some time before he came to Utah, then left San Francisco, where he feared he would be recognized and made his way to southern California, where he died.

If Baptiste did in fact reach the California coast, the possibility exists he could even have returned to Australia.

One can continue to speculate over Baptiste’s fate, but whatever the outcome, John de Baptiste will continue to live on in infamy in Church annals as Australia’s most notorious convert. Baptiste had looked among several faiths and seemingly felt he had found what he wanted with the Mormons, yet the chapel he provided for the other religious practitioners of the day as well as for the Saints was built with money from grave robbing.

**Hurst’s Utah and New Zealand Service**

Fred Hurst, like Baptiste, also initially settled in Salt Lake City but in contrast lived a life which drew no unusual attention. Fred married Aurelia Hawkins on November 3, 1858, and they had ten children. Aurelia came from a wealthy English family. A reserved,
deeply religious and stately woman, she enjoyed "very little pleasure in life other than her home and family."\(^{100}\)

In April 1860, Fred took a position as "Keeper of the Station at Ruby Valley," about 300 miles west of Salt Lake City on the western route to California.\(^{101}\) True to form, Fred made the best of a situation that included severe winters, hostile Indians, and a new home that looked more like a prison "built wholey [sic] of logs and the never failing dirt roof."\(^{102}\)

Kate B. Carter wrote of Fred:

> Mr. Hurst believed in the policy of Brigham Young—that of feeding the Indians rather than fighting them—and being a naturally kind hearted man, he desired to alleviate their suffering. Many times he gave the Indians who came to the station bread and also a kind of poi he had learned to make in the Islands. At Christmas time he gave them a special treat of a large plum pudding which he had steamed in flour sacks over a bon fire. The Indians were deeply appreciative of these acts of kindness and often warned him of hostile bands who were bent on destroying the station. Thus he had time to secure proper defence.\(^{103}\)

In 1865, Fred and Aurelia moved with their three children to Logan, Utah, where Fred led an unassuming life, farming and raising his family until 1868, when he was run over by a load of hay and nearly killed, his left arm being paralyzed. Forced to quit farming entirely, Fred turned his attention to "house painting, graining etc.," which he developed into a good business with more work than he could handle.\(^{104}\)

Although Fred had made a new life for himself in Utah, his thoughts must have often been upon his childhood home of New Zealand and a mother he had not seen in over twenty years. As fate would have it, missionary emphasis had shifted from Australia to New Zealand, where by 1887 membership would total an amazing 2,500, of which the vast majority were Maori.\(^{105}\) Laying the foundation for this growth were brothers Fred and Charles Clement Hurst, who returned to New Zealand in 1875, this time "on a special mission to the Maoris."\(^{106}\)

Fred left his family in "deep sorrow and anguish"\(^{107}\) on account of his eight-year-old daughter dying three days before his departure. Fred and his brother Charles Clement arrived in New Zealand on December 14, 1875, and were met with a cold reception:
Scene in Honolulu Nov. 22th 1875 Sandwich Islands. Hurst describes Hawaii with an artist’s eye: “Nov. 19th. We heartily enjoyed beautiful scenery in and around Honolulu. Owing to recent rains everything looked fresh and charming to the eye” (Hurst, Diary, 118). Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
**Sailing in the Pacific Ocean.** Hurst sketched this scene November 25, 1875. A steamship is shown in the distance. He signed the sketch in the bottom right corner, indicating he believed it was one of his better works. He signed only those pieces which pleased him (Beth Taylor, April 26, 1993, personal communication). Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
The papers greeted us with a dose of billings-gate, and a rehash from the San Francisco Chronicle, stating also that they hoped we would get as cordial a reception as an Elder had experienced in Wellington some time ago when he was saluted with sundry dead cats and other ordurous accompaniments [sic]. The press actually countenancing and advocating MOB LAW. So much for prejudice and blind bigotry.\(^{108}\)

Fred’s immediate concern was to locate his mother. When he found her in a very feeble state, Fred recalled, “she was overjoyed at seeing me, but could scarcely realize it was true that we had come at last to see her, after such a long absence.”\(^{109}\) Fred and Charles had planned to link back up with the other missionaries after a brief visit but due to lack of funds, Fred was forced to remain behind and attempt to open the Wellington area to the restored gospel. The following six months would be very lonely and trying for Fred:

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**Colima.** En route to New Zealand from Hawaii, Fred Hurst made this 1875 diary entry: “Nov. 25th. Drew a sketch of the Colima [the steamship he was on]. Run 277 miles, the wind on our starboard quarter. Charley [his brother] getting worse every day, though he says his cough is better. I draw a little every day so that I don’t have much idle time. I study the Maori language every morning, I begin to read quite fluently already in the Testament” (Hurst, *Diary*, 118). Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
Our old place near the cemetary, Wellington, N.Z. Hurst wrote in his diary, “January 3rd, 1876. Took a long walk in the cemetery, sketched our old place just above on the hill; also a view of Queen’s Wharf [see the next sketch]. Rambled round all our old favorite walks, etc.” (Hurst, Diary, 130). This house was built about 1852 by Fred’s father with help from Fred and the rest of the family. Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
Queen's Wharf, Wellington. Sketched by Fred Hurst on January 3, 1876, while he was on his mission in New Zealand. See the caption for the Hurst family home for more details. Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
I scarcely know what to do, everybody I used to be acquainted with gives me the cold shoulder.110

I got an abusive and insulting letter from by brother, Alfred, but have concluded not to notice. It would be beneath me to stoop so low as to answer it.111

January 10th. I took a long walk to find a secret place to retire to, for I felt bowed down and bewildered, not knowing where to go or what to do. Everything seemed shut down for want of funds. In the anxiety of my soul I wished [sic] to exclaim: "Oh, Lord, I am here to do thy will and not my own, wilt thou in Thy tender mercy make it manifest unto me what I shall do for the best interest of this mission. If it is Thy will that I should preach in this place, wilt thou provide means to hire a hall, or what shall I do, and whither shall I go to accomplish the most good?"112

Fred did manage to hire a hall and began preaching regularly, handing out tracts and holding gospel discussions with whomever would lend him a moment, but most only "wanted to know about polygamy [sic] and not baptism."113 The newspapers also "did not spare their abuse and misrepresentation calling Fred a sickly Saint from Utah."114 The Evening Post of January 17, 1876, wrote that Fred addressed "a large congregation on Sunday afternoon and was invited by the Evangelist to a public discussion, and that Elder Hurst the Mormon Prophet and all his absurdities were entirely disposed of."115

Fred, with his uncanny knack to turn even the most discouraging situations into something positive, comments:

Here am I, a stranger in a strange land, insulted and despised by all that know me, abused by the Press, Priests, and people. And what for? Because I have the Priesthood of the Almighty and a message from High Heaven to warn the people to repent of their sins ere the judgments of God will overtake them as a thief in the night. As I have written in some of my letters, it has never fell to my lot to meet with so many rebuffs, slights, insults, and abuse and crosses and disappointments in such a short space of time as I have since I landed here and yet the hand of the Lord is over me for good, and I often realize it to a marvelous extent.

But it does not do to brood over these things; although things look dark now I firmly believe there will be a change before long even if the Lord has to come and stir the people up by His power. He will do all things well.116

Fred's faith and perseverance were not misplaced. He was possibly the first Latter-day Saint to learn the Maori tongue and
Evans Bay near Wellington, July 12, 1876. Fred made no diary entry for the 12th. However, a July 3rd entry indicates one way he supported himself. Fred told a man who had been admiring a painting, "I had a good notion to sell out to him and if he would give me two pounds for the picture he should have it telling him we were broke. . . . He pulled out his purse and said he would buy. . . . Our hearts were full of . . . gratitude to Our Heavenly Father" (Hurst, Diary, 154). Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
*Thames River, Auckland, N.Z.* Dated July 10, 1876. A later entry reveals that missionary work was slow during this period: “This is July 17. There has very little transpired of note lately. Life is rather monotonous (Hurst, *Diary*, 155). Courtesy of Floyd H. Hurst.
actively try to proselyte among the natives. The following reflection by Fred was indeed prophetic:

I had a very pleasant dream last night, that filled my soul with joy unutterable. A personage was talking to me. He appeared to be standing in the air several feet from the ground and was telling me, or giving me an account of some very great and important events, several of which will transpire within a year from this date concerning the Lamanites [Maoris], and cited me to a certain passage in the Book of Mormon, that was not being fulfilled concerning that people, but when I awoke, alas, the dream and the passage referred to fled from my memory, for which I feel sorry, but presume it is all right.\footnote{117}

Months later a letter was received from Brigham Young confirming Fred’s feelings; it requested that the missionaries study the Maori language, “for the time had come for them to hear the gospel.”\footnote{118}

While in New Zealand, the Hurst brothers suffered not only public abuse, but also lack of money to meet basic expenses and provide bare essentials. Fred writes: “We are in a very destitute condition, and it requires all our courage, and that would not amount to much without the Spirit of the Lord to comfort and cheer our hearts.”\footnote{119}

“Sometimes we go a whole week without meat, butter is a rarity, we live mostly on oatmeal porridge and sop, but we have sickened on oatmeal. . . . We can’t both go to town together on account of Charley’s [Clement’s] boots have given out, and that leaves us with but one pair between us, and we wear them turn about.”\footnote{120}

Through it all, each difficulty seemed little more than a diversion for Fred. He never lost sight of how his life fell into Christ’s scheme of things, never became frustrated or angry, just took it all in stride with a resilience that would anger any skeptic: “Oh how very happy I ought to be for the hand of the Lord has been over, and round about me and mine for good, and my heart swells within me, and my gratitude to devoting myself, my time and my all for the up building of God’s kingdom and the spread of truth. And while I’m permitted to live on earth I want to do good.”\footnote{121}

One commodity Fred never lacked was true and sincere friends. When Fred had left on his mission, he was overwhelmed by community generosity.\footnote{122} News of Fred’s release was soon followed by $300 in gold raised by the brothers and sisters of Logan to help pay his fare home.\footnote{123} Fred commented, “When I thought of such kindness I felt
very humble and asked myself the question, 'Am I worthy of so much kindness and solicitude?'”

Fred returned to Logan in June 1877. His journal entries for the time highlight the fact that Fred was a man truly loved and respected by his family and friends:

We found quite a large assembly at the station to welcome us. I didn’t really feel worthy of so much honor. Such a cordial shaking of hands.

I will never forget Brother L. Farr hauled us home in his wagon crowded to the guards. We were hailed coming along the streets, and had to jump out every once in a while to shake hands, finally we reached home. Found my dear wife tolerably well but looking very thin and careworn. The twins had grown remarkably and Leo, quite a while after I got home, kept saying, “Take me to my papa, take me to my papa, I tell oo.”

The children were all delighted with the shells and corals that I brought along. Everything was new to them. Besides images and animals carved out of wood, a box made of sandal wood and beautifully carved by Chinese, and then all my sketches, etc.

In the evening a very large company, over three hundred, came down with Brother William Knowles to serenade us. God bless them for their kindness. My wife says, “You must go out and invite them in.” I told her our city lot would scarcely hold them. I made a few remarks to thank them, and felt to bless them in the name of the Lord Jesus.

Fred continued painting part time. He lived near the temple in Logan, Utah, where he spent much of his time doing work for the dead. In 1892-93, Fred’s artistic talents were called upon to engrave and paint the inside of the Salt Lake Temple. Although “so sick with vomiting,” he believed the completion of the temple was of such importance that he never missed a day’s work until the project was finished.

One of Fred’s last entries in his journal is a truly remarkable one and a testimony to what his life centered upon: family, missionary work, and temple work. Fred recorded:

Along about the 1st of March, 1893, I found myself alone in the dining room, all had gone to bed. I was sitting at the table when to my great surprize [sic] my elder brother Alfred walked in and sat down opposite me at the table and smiled. I said to him (he looked so natural): “When did you arrive in Utah?”
A self portrait of Frederick William Hurst (1833–1918). Original in color. Date unknown. Hurst served as a missionary in Australia, Hawaii, California, and New Zealand. He also worked as a craftsman on the Salt Lake and Logan temples. Courtesy of Beth Taylor.
He said: "I have just come from the Spirit World, this is not my body that you see, it is lying in the tomb. I want to tell you that when you were on you mission you told me many things about the Gospel, and the hereafter, and about the Spirit World being as real and tangible as the earth. I could not believe you, but when I died and went there and saw for myself I realized that you had told the truth. I attended the Mormon meetings." He raised his hand and said with much warmth: "I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all my heart. I believe in faith, and repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, but that is as far as I can go. I look to you to do the work for me in the temple. You are watched closely, every move you make is known there, and we were glad you came. We are all looking to you as our head in this great work. I want to tell you that there are a great many spirits who weep and mourn because they have relatives in the Church here who are careless and are doing nothing for them."128

Accordingly, Fred later authorized the work to be done.129

Frederick William Hurst, foot soldier for the gospel, died October 30, 1918, at age eighty-five.130 Like those of a vast majority of less eminent converts, Fred Hurst's life was not characterized by any one great event to immortalize his name in LDS history. Fred served without popular distinction, prominence, or position, but his example truly "influenced people from all walks of life in many lands."131 For example, youthful John A. Widstoe remembered an aged Fred Hurst:

He always kept a beautiful flower garden at his home just below the Agricultural College at Logan, where I was laboring as President of that institution. Naturally my responsibilities were heavy. In times of discouragement I would often take a walk real early in the morning when all was quiet, where I could be alone with my thoughts ... [Fred] was always out with a very cheery "Good Morning", and if I gave no signs of being in a hurry he would talk over the fence. It usually was not long until some remark we had made brought from his store of wisdom and experience some story of his early days, and I would listen to him. He had such a marvelous personality, and as his face glowed with faith and cheerfulness, one never tire[d] of his stories of actual living for it seemed his life had reached out into every worthwhile activity of man. He had a cheerfulness that would dispel any worry or fears and I would go back to my labors full of encouragement and faith in the purpose of life, and that God was interested in all of his children, and would overrule for the good and blessing of any who would trust in him to make life or tasks conform to the will of God.132

No one could have mapped out a longer route to Zion either in physical miles or spiritual trials than did Hurst and Baptiste, who
both managed to escape the goldfields and their quagmire of religious indifference, moral leprosy, and isolation. But what turned out to be a refiner’s fire for Hurst proved to be little more than a hand-warming flame for Baptiste.

For many people, evil has a perverse and entertaining fascination while the whole and significant sum of a good man’s works pass by unnoticed. Good is less likely to catch our interest. This is no better illustrated than in the lives of Fred Hurst and John de Baptiste. The brief appearance of Baptiste in our history catches the mind and stirs the imagination to ponder the sensational, but of the Fred Hursts of the world, President Howard W. Hunter wrote: “There are many great, unnoticed, and forgotten heroes among us. I am speaking of those of you who quietly and consistently do the things you ought to do. I am talking about those who are always there and always willing . . . to do the many simple and minor things that will ultimately make us great.”

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NOTES

1 John Ritchie, *Australia as Once We Were* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1963), 86.


3 Amasa Potter, Journal, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). Potter referred to the New South Wales gold mines but characterizes a general consensus concerning the goldfields.

4 Samuel H. Hurst and Ida Hurst, eds. and comps., *Diary of Frederick Hurst* (n.p., 1961), appendix. Samuel H. Hurst is the same person who participated in the prayer under the pepper tree with David O. McKay, as discussed in the article by Lavina Fielding Anderson in this issue of *BYU Studies*.


9 *Times and Seasons* 6 (April 1, 1845): 857.
11 *Deseret News*, February 11, 1852. This is a letter from Charles W. Wandell to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. Everything in Australia during the period was compared to England, from superior climate to inferior fashion.
12 “A Chapter on Gold Digging,” *Millennial Star*, November 11, 1852, 295. This is a letter from Charles Wandell to Franklin D. Richards. Negative accounts of the colony and people were easy to locate. For example, Wandell later referred to Australia as “this filthy sink of devildom.” From missionary William Hyde, we hear, “Truly [we] are in the midst of a perverse people whose God is Gold” (Deseret News, December 7, 1854, 39). Josiah Fleming stated, “[I] view myself as being in this far off land of darkness degradation and misery” (Josiah Fleming to Brigham Young, October 30, 1855, LDS Church Archives).
13 Augustus Farnham to Brigham Young, June 6, 1853, LDS Church Archives.
14 *Millennial Star*, December 16, 1854, 798. This is a letter from Augustus Farnham to [ranklin] D. Richards, September 18, 1854.
15 Augustus Farnham to Amasa Lyman, December 4, 1855, LDS Church Archives.
16 Augustus Farnham to Amasa Lyman, February 14, 1856, LDS Church Archives.
17 Augustus Farnham to Brigham Young, May 5, 1855, LDS Church Archives. Absolom P. Dowdle commented, “That colony [Victoria] is rather worse for traveling without money than the colony of N.S.W. for this reason. The general feeling with the people of Victoria is that a person there has money, and if he has not, they think that he should go to work and get means to travel with” (Absolom P. Dowdle to George A. Smith, George A. Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives).
18 Burr Frost to Brigham Young, December 26, 1853, Burr Frost, Diary, LDS Church Archives.
19 Joseph Kelly, Diary, January 15, 1857, and January 21, 1857, LDS Church Archives.
20 Ritchie, *Australia*, 86.
21 Hurst, *Diary*, 1, 5.
22 Hurst, *Diary*, 5. The Hurst family originally came from the Isle of Jersey (Hurst, *Diary*, 1).
26 Hurst, *Diary*, 7–8. Noted historian Geoffrey Blainey feels the dangers were exaggerated and writes that although “armed bushrangers molested the main roads to goldfields and cutthroats murdered their mates in tents and golden holes, these signs of violence were only one side of the page, the side the newspapers liked to print. The goldfields chief commissioner noted on 1 October 1852 that the crime rate was no higher on the diggings than in the whole colony” (Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining* [Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963], 41). However, other contemporaneous reports and at least
one modern historian disagree with Blainey’s assessment. See Ray Aitchison, *The Americans in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1986), 43–49. American miner Charles D. Ferguson, an “old hand,” had previously worked in the Californian diggings and remembered Bendigo as

certainly one of the worst places on earth in 1852–53. One was not safe going outside his tent after dark, as he was liable to be either shot or sand-bagged and robbed. There was no end of such desperate, murderous rascality. It would take a thousand pages to record what I have personally known, to say nothing of all [that has been] reported from the various districts in the colony. They would steal washdirt, rob a claim, or kill a man without compunction. There were parties that did nothing else but go around thru the day and learn where the best dirt or richest claims were, and come at night and carry off the dirt.

Later he noted that “the greatest change noticable to an early miner is in the absence of all the old hands, [who] . . . were either hung or died in prison” (Charles D. Ferguson, *The Experiences of a Forty-niner in Thirty-Four Years Residence in California and Australia*, ed. Frederick J. Wallace [Cleveland: Williams Publishing, 1888], 249).


28 Hurst, *Diary*, 9.

29 Thomas Holder would return to New Zealand in 1854 in company with Augustus Farnham and William Cooke as the first LDS missionaries to the land where he remained active in the work. In 1870, Holder was appointed President of the Karori Branch (B. Hunt, *Zion in New Zealand: 1854–1977* [Temple View, New Zealand: Church College of New Zealand, 1977], 6). Fred sometimes called his brother Charles and sometimes Clement.

30 Hurst, *Diary*, 10.

31 After arriving in Melbourne mid–May 1853, Burr Frost (1815–1878) advertised in the local newspaper and began preaching on Sundays near St. Peters Church at the top of Collins Street “upon the first principles of the gospel” to rowdy crowds. On the first Sunday, Frost recorded “[I] had probably one hundred present with as much feeling of mobocracy as ever I saw in my life” (Frost, *Diary*, May 22, 1853, LDS Church Archives).

32 John Murdock, Journal, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 55–56. John Murdock was born in 1792. He was an early convert to the church (fall of 1830), being baptized about the same time as Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams. In June 1831, he was called on a mission to accompany Hyrum Smith. He helped obtain permission from citizens of Daviess County, Missouri, to create a Mormon settlement at DeWitt. He served as the first bishop of Salt Lake 14th Ward (Daniel Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Doctrine and Covenants*, 2 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978], 2:365). Murdock was a seasoned preacher and silent strongman of the Church, but by the time he arrived in Australia, he was bordering on sixty years of age; his body could no longer keep up with his spirit. In his own words, he recalled that “considering
the weakness of my body the affliction and trembling of my nerves and badness of my eyesight, I am not fit" (Murdock, Journal, 57).

Melbourne was not only the gate of entry to the goldfields, but also the resort of hundreds of ex-convicts who had flooded across Bass Strait from Van Diemen's Land in search of easy money. The police, never a particularly fine body of men, had almost all resigned and gone to the goldfields. Desperate attempts to replace them brought into the force a riffraff of ex-convicts who saw better pickings as servants of the law than as its proclaimed enemies (Norman Bartlett, Australia and America through 200 Years: 1776–1976 [Sydney: S. U. Smith at the Fine Arts Press, 1976], 9).

George W. Watson had volunteered for a mission to Melbourne, arriving four months before Wandell, but he had not been preaching. Watson was active for a time but could not agree with polygamy, stating "a man should cleave to one wife" (Frost, Diary, September 4, 1853).

Baptized January 5, 1837, at age seventeen, Wandell quickly became an active missionary. A man of great capacity and competence, having a proud, almost arrogant, air about himself, he had a great influence on the early growth and development of the Church in Australia. He organized the first group of converts to leave Australia in 1853, joined the Reorganized Church in 1873, and was called by them to open the gospel in Australia. After returning to Sydney, he became crippled with rheumatism and died shortly after on March 14, 1875 (Inez Smith, "Biography of Charles Wesley Wandell," The Journal of History [Lamoni, Iowa: Board of Publications, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1910] 3:461, 466, 4:63).

Millennial Star, April 2, 1853, 220. Wandell’s stay in Melbourne was brief; he departed December 9, 1852. Difficulties within the branch at Sydney forced his early return. In reference to the converts from the British Isles, Wandell issued a stern warning to those thinking of coming to try their luck in the diggings. His lengthy imaginary account concerning a group of Englishmen foolish enough to venture to the goldfields instead of going to Zion reads in part:

They are received by a set of vultures, who will, if possible, by fair means or foul, drain them of every farthing before they leave them. Wherever they go they will meet with extortion . . . they must pay two-and-sixpence for a dirty meal. They will have to pay two shillings and sixpence per night for the meanest lodgings, with the greatest probability of being robbed before morning. . . . Well, what is it? Why it is the lowest pit of England’s HELL. (Millennial Star, April 30, 1853, 278)

Zion’s Watchman, August 13, 1853, 1.

Living conditions in the goldfields were hard, consisting only of the bare essentials. “Our house is nine feet square and is made of canvas. Our furniture consists of a Bed which is made by laying the Bark of trees on the ground and throwing gum leaves on it and four blankets, a blanket to each man, an Ax a pick four shovels and a Colt revolving Pistol apiece completes our Parlor Furniture” (E. Daniel Potts and Annette Potts, Young Americans and Australian Gold: Americans and the Gold Rush of the 1850’s [St. Lucia: University of Greensland Press, 1974], 63). The work, from dawn to dusk six days a week, was difficult, lonely, and dangerous
and held little glamour, the miners existing basically on “mutton, damper and black tea.” The odds were against a man even making a living in the goldfields with the best of the diggings finished by 1853 (Ritchie, Australia, 91, 93).

American William Cooke had been baptized only weeks earlier by the mission president, Augustus Farnham, in Sydney and had arrived in Melbourne on June 21, 1853, informing Frost that he intended to continue on to the goldfields at Bendigo. Frost had set Cooke apart “preach in the mining districts of Victoria in as mutch [sic] as the Lord should open the way before him” (Frost, Diary, September 11, 1853). Cooke was instrumental in the development of the Church in the Bendigo-Castlemaine area, the nucleus of the LDS Church in Victoria during the early to mid-1850s. Cooke, the founding father of the New Zealand Mission, was murdered in Logan, Utah, in 1858. Hosea Stout records: “Tuesday 12 Oct. 1858. About 8 o’clock an attack was made by three men on Br. William Cook keeper of the Lock up. Cook was shot through the thigh breaking the bone.” Cooke died a week later after much suffering (Juanita Brooks, ed., On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861, 2 vols. [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964], 1:667).

Hurst, Diary, 11. The Gold Diggers Branch, the first branch of the Church in the Victorian goldfields, was organized by Burr Frost and William Cooke near present-day Bendigo in the tent of Francis Evans, September 13, 1853. By September 1854, the Church in Victoria had five branches and fifty-one members (Zion’s Watchman, October 14, 1854, 156).

Hurst, Diary, 11.

Hurst, Diary, 12. The doctrine of plural marriage from its introduction caused problems for the missionaries. Burr Frost publicly introduced the doctrine into Victoria and received considerable abuse. For example, after the wife of an Elder Symmons (a hot-headed woman at the best of times) obtained a copy of the Deseret News containing a detailed account of polygamy, she became so enraged that she attempted to attack Frost in the open street and on another occasion threatened Frost “that if she could see me that she would tare [sic] my eyes out” (Frost, Diary, October 1852–May 1854). Apparently, of the ten elders sent to Australia in 1853, at least two who were already married took another wife in Australia. Mission Pres. A. P. Dowdle claimed to have married and had three children while John Norton took a third wife (Absolom Porter Dowdle, Diary, LDS Church Archives). William Robb, the only member in Australia documented as having taken a second wife, was disfellowshipped briefly for his action (Journal History of the Church, December 12, 1857, microfilm, Harold B. Lee Library).

Hurst, Diary, 12.

Hurst, Diary, 12.

Hurst, Diary, 13.

Hurst, Diary, 13.

Hurst, Diary, 35.

Hurst, Diary, 83.

As most of the men were at the mines and it was difficult to preach outdoors in Melbourne during the winter, Frost had concluded to stay with James McKnight at the Bendigo diggings. “If I could not preach Br. McKnight said he would Board me two or three months [and] I could help cook and [assist] him when he needed” (Frost, Diary, July 3, 1853). Echoing his frustration in Melbourne, Frost wrote, “Got
to meditating upon the wickedness of the people in this country as a specimen of the daily occurrences in this country it is common to read in the morning news of from fifty to [one] hundred cases before the Mayor and police magistrate for drunkenness, Petty thefts, fightings, indecent exposure, etc.” (Frost, Diary, September 11, 1853).

From Melbourne, July 5, 1854, Alexander Pain wrote, “I preach every Sunday on the wharf, the principles of the Gospel to the great body of the people. I have preached four Sundays and have become quite a favourite with the people . . . I cannot find any Latter-day Saints here, except one or two, who have been like myself, and you know, they would give me no comfort” (Zion’s Watchman, August 5, 1854, 127). Just as the Californian diggings had been a windfall for the pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley, the fortunes of the Australian Mission seemed to run parallel with the success of the goldfields. Gold from members in the diggings subsidized the Zion’s Watchman along with other printing, as well as supporting missionary expenses and immigration costs. Salt Lake City also benefited from Australian gold. In 1853 a subscription was taken up and sent to Brigham Young to help build the temple. Miner Clem Hurst, for example, paid over £900 in tithing on one occasion alone to Burr Frost (Hurst, Diary, 18).

48 Hurst, Diary, 13. Two varying accounts of Sunday at the diggings read as follows: “On Sundays ordained clergymen or Cornish diggers preached from carts or stumps or pulpits in vast tents to some of the largest congregations that had ever assembled in the land. Revivalist crusades converted hundreds at the height of new rushes” (Blainey, The Rush that Never Ended, 41).

With Sunday proclaimed as a day of rest the Commissioner was anxious to stamp out all goldfield trading, especially that associated with the sale of illicit liquor. Sunday, August 10th 1851, was observed in a most heathen-like manner by Sofala’s drunken majority. At Big Oakey Creek, a Londoner and Australian fought 18 rounds over 55 minutes for a $10 stake. Only two hundred yards away, the Reverend Chapman attempted to conduct an outdoor Wesleyan service. The cleric commanded the attention of a mere 30 followers whilst his “opposition attracted a crowd of one thousand onlookers. An afternoon service was marred by noise from a cricket match, foot racing and jumping contests. Others openly gambled, played “pitch and toss” and held target practice for money. (John Rule, Sofala Days and Turonites [New South Wales, Australia: Pearl Printing, 1980], 12-13)

49 Hurst, Diary, 13.
50 Hurst, Diary, 14.
51 Sunday meetings held by the Saints attracted good crowds at the Castlemaine diggings where “the size of the turn-outs for a Mormon service surprised the local newspapers” (Potts and Potts, Young Americans, 70).
52 Hurst, Diary, 18.
54 Hurst, Diary, 16.
55 Hurst, Diary, 16.
56 Hurst, Diary, 16. James McKnight (1830–1908), tenth convert and original member of the first branch of the Church organized in Sydney, was baptized at the
age of twenty-one on December 11, 1851, and quickly became an excellent missionary. James married Sarah Howell of the Newcastle Branch in April 1855 and emigrated on the Tarquinia. James McKnight paid Frost's and Smith’s passage aboard the Tarquinia and also gave Smith $50.00 (James C. McKnight, comp., James McKnight and His Antecedents in Scotland with an Account of His Early Days in Australia and on His Way to America [Fort Collins: n.p., 1987], 23, 30). He settled at Minersville, Utah, where he became the first mayor and later the patriarch (McKnight, James McKnight, 33).

57 Hurst, Diary, 16.
58 Excerpts from the Journal of Alonzo Colton, LDS Church Archives, 4.
61 Connway B. Sonne, Saints on the Sea (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 11.
63 Hurst, Diary, Appendix, 1.
64 Hurst, Diary, 19.
65 Hurst, Diary, 45. These types of faith-promoting experiences are typical throughout Hurst’s journal.
66 Hurst, Diary, 67.
67 Hurst, Diary, 67.
68 Hurst, Diary, 77.
69 Hurst, Diary, 206. Hurst recounts of the event: “I attended the conference of the Church in San Francisco, April 6, 1857. Being set apart with some other young Elders, President George Q. Cannon was mouth, I was very much astonished to hear him say: ‘Brother Fred, the Lord called you when you were a child, and you received a promise that you should be one of the one hundred and forty-four thousand that should stand upon Mt. Zion and sing a new song; and now by virtue and authority of the Holy Priesthood, I seal and confirm that promise on your head.”
70 Hurst, Diary, 85.
71 Hurst, Diary, 99.
72 Hurst, Diary, 100–101.
73 J. R. Young Scrapbook, January 1862, LDS Church Archives.
75 For a more detailed account of the death of Clawson, see Deseret News, March 26, 1862, 1.
76 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
77 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
78 Historian’s Office Journal, November 1861–February 1863, LDS Church Archives.
79 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
81 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
82 Young Scrapbook, January 1862.
83 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
85 Annie C. Carr, ed. and comp. East of Antelope Island: History of the First Fifty Years of Davis County (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1948), 32.
86 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
87 Historian’s Office Journal, November 1861–February 1863, LDS Church Archives.
88 Woodruff, Journal 6:14–15. Baptiste’s behavior was bizarre enough to raise the question of whether he was sane. Nevertheless, his was a sensational story at the time.
89 History of Brigham Young, January 28, 1862, LDS Church Archives.
90 “President Brigham Young at the Tabernacle, February 9, 1862,” Deseret News, March 26, 1862, 1.
92 Deseret News, March 26, 1862, 1. Brigham Young’s first response to the event was recorded in his Office Journal, January 27, 1862, LDS Church Archives, 341–42, the day of Baptiste’s arrest.
93 Morgan, The Great Salt Lake, 277. What happened to Baptiste? The court records along with the Deseret News for the era are silent on the matter. Historian Dale L. Morgan wrote, “The personal journal of Judge Elias Smith is the sole indication that Baptiste ever received a judicial hearing, least of all a trial” (Morgan, The Great Salt Lake, 276).
94 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
95 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
96 “Robber of the Dead,” 8. Branding notorious criminals was a common legal practice in colonial America. See, for example, Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania [sic] (Philadelphia: Bradford, 1714), 38.
97 Folklore has it that Ephraim Hanks tied a rock to Baptiste’s neck and threw him into the Great Salt Lake (Carr, East of Antelope Island, 33).
98 “Robber of the Dead,” 8.
100 Family History of Aurelia Hawkins, in possession of Kerry Tingey, Madison, Alabama.
101 Hurst, Diary, Appendix.
102 Hurst, Diary, 111.
103 Hurst, Diary, Appendix, 1.
104 Hurst, Diary, 112.
106 “Their Contribution to Utah,” 262; and Hurst, Diary, 112. Many changes had taken place in Victoria and the Australasian Mission since Fred’s departure on the Tarquinia in 1855. A new crop of converts took over in leadership positions in Victoria, and in the latter part of 1856, sixteen more American elders arrived in Australia, the majority landing at Melbourne on November 17, 1856. Four of them were assigned to Victoria.

At face value, progress seemed imminent, but a lack of direction, disagreement, bickering, and frustration with the conditions and a hardening public attitude
combined to stifle any hope of a new high. Missionary Joseph Kelting, after being sent to Geelong, Victoria, early in 1857 found that the members “had all deserted the place” and he “could not find an opening there [sic]” and so decided to continue on to Ballarat but found that organizing a Branch there looked “almost impossible.” He added that the “Principle Business is digging gold and drinking and spreng [sic] . . . there is as much prostitution as ever I have seen.” Kelting notes that the majority of Saints left on the Jenny Ford and what few left were “dissatisfied [sic].”

The mission was in decline and would not see any permanent signs of revival until the turn of the century (Joseph A. Kelting to Brigham Young, February 22, 1857, LDS Church Archives). A final blow to the Australian Mission in the 1850s was the news that troops were marching on Utah. All American missionaries were called home.

Shortly before his departure, President Andrew Stewart noted: “Since our last Conference in January, the times have been very dull, and great opposition to the work has been manifested in Australia. The attention of almost everyone had been turned to the ‘Mormon war.’ Some say they ought to be killed off. Others are waiting to see the result; and if the Saints are not all killed off, they will come out on the Lord’s side. The Victorian Mission is not doing much. It numbers but few Saints at this time” (Andrew J. Stewart, Millennial Star, April 10, 1858, 44). Amasa Potter wrote: “They said that we had preached to them that the God of heaven had spoken in these last days, and had sent an holy angel, and had restored the holy Priesthood and the keys to build up the Church and kingdom of God on the earth, and now, said they, the next ship that arrives from America will bring the news of the destruction of all the ‘Mormons’ in Utah” (Amasa Potter, “Missionary Sketches,” Millennial Star, October 3, 1871, 653).

Shortly after returning to Utah, Andrew J. Stewart, the last American mission president to visit Victoria in the 1850s, gave a report in the Salt Lake Tabernacle concerning the conditions in Melbourne: “I saw many females laying drunk in the street. . . . I saw four men with their throats cut in one day it was with the greatest difficulty we got to preach in the first place we had to learn the way of the people at first we went around selling books by this means got to talk to the people” (Provo, Utah, Stake Minutes, General Minutes, vol. 10, 1855-1856, September 25, 1859, 10 A.M.). Stewart’s statement of “seeing four men with their throats cut in one day” is likely an exaggeration he used to illustrate his point.

Converts continued leaving from Victoria in small groups in the years following, and missionary work continued intermittently but with little lasting success, the members being scattered over a vast area and generally unorganized. Efforts were made to recestablish the Australasian mission but with poor results. With the elders being needed elsewhere, Australia became a low priority.

Job Welling, who arrived in Melbourne, Victoria, late in 1875, wrote of the general stagnation: “The people largely English, came here for the purpose of getting rich, and have been in the habit of earning big wages and spending all they could get their hands upon in the most reckless manner. Horse racing, boat racing, betting, gambling of every description are in order, with lots of drinking and lewdness on every hand. Yet churches and chapels abound, religious liberty is of such a cast as to deprive it of all sanctuary. You may do what you please, think what you please, it makes no particular difference. They regard it all about alike, and are extremely indifferent. . . . All classes join eagerly in the outcry at ‘Mormonism’” (Deseret News, February 23, 1876).
Hurst, *Diary*, 168.

Hurst, *Diary*, 122.

Hurst, *Diary*, 122.

Hurst, *Diary*, 127.

Hurst, *Diary*, 129.

Hurst, *Diary*, 132.

Hurst, *Diary*, 133.

Hurst, *Diary*, 133.

Hurst, *Diary*, 134.

Hurst, *Diary*, 141.

Hurst, *Diary*, 157.

Hurst, *Diary*, 157.

Hurst, *Diary*, 157.

Hurst, *Diary*, 157.

Hurst, *Diary*, 159.

Hurst, *Diary*, 168.

Hurst, *Diary*, 168.

Hurst, *Diary*, 197.

Hurst, *Diary*, 197.

Hurst, *Diary*, 204.

Frederick W. Hurst, “Pertaining to Temple Work,” in *Voices from the Past* (Provo: Campus Education Week, 1980), 101. Although his journal simply mentions that he “worked at painting in the Salt Lake Temple,” he probably helped with the engraving. Hurst’s journal has numerous sketches along with reference to his engraving and painting. A relative of Fred Hurst’s has about fifty-five sketches by Hurst. Confirming Fred’s artistic ability is this quote: “a Mr. Carr stepped up and inquired of the boys who had done the carving. . . . ‘That is a very handsome piece of work.’ Turning to me he said, ‘Did you do that?’ I replied, ‘Yes Sir.’ He answered, ‘What a pity you should be so foolish as to throw your lifetime and talents in such a place as Salt Lake City among those Mormons’” (Hurst, *Diary*, 164). Page 186 of the “Logan Temple Book” reads: “He [Fred] hand carved chairs for the Logan temple and did gold leafing and some of the murals on the wall.” See also Nolan Porter Olsen, *Logan Temple: The First 100 Years* (Providence, Utah: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, 1978), 186, which says the chairs were placed in the sealing rooms. Beth B. Lawrence, direct descendent of Fred Hurst, called the Logan Temple and was told “they had one of Fred’s carved chairs in storage” (Beth B. Lawrence, interview, June 1992).

Hurst, *Diary*, 204. The family picture pedigree chart (“Our Family Pedigree”) in the possession of Beth B. Lawrence lists his occupation as “Florist and Oil Painter.”

Hurst, *Diary*, 204.

Hurst, *Diary*, 205.

Family Picture Pedigree Chart.

Hurst, *Diary*, Appendix, 2.

Hurst, *Diary*, Appendix, 2-3.


Same and Changing Seasons

Year after year,
Spring ransoms the earth
From winter cussedness.
Green bursts through the crust.
No matter that it's only weeds.

Last spring I worked under that same sun,
A sudden whiplash in the air,
Persisting against winter.
One needs to make hay on such days.
Besides, it was pleasant out there.

Last year.

Slender tenderness on the piano keys
Released cascades of melody
Across the lawn to me,
Like a caress.
I hummed softly.
She did not hear me,
And went on with her exercises,
As the willow waved its lazy rhythm
Under the window.

Last year.

This year, too, the sun has challenged the ice.
Today, as before, I have noticed the green explosion
That breaks through the brown.

This year the piano stands mute,
The window empty
Under the weeping willow.

I'll have to get my tools.
One needs to make hay, they say.

—Harold K. Moon
To All Worthy Male Members, Emma Allebes (1931–), Fair Oaks, California, 1990. The quilter created this quilt to celebrate the revelation extending the priesthood to “all worthy male members.” Each upraised hand represents a particular person whose arm and hand Sister Allebes traced or had traced. The people represented came from all over the world, but the quilter particularly emphasized members of the Church from developing countries. To reinforce this geographical and cultural orientation, she used cloth from Indonesia and Africa. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
Prayer under a Pepper Tree: Sixteen Accounts of a Spiritual Manifestation

Records reveal vivid information from personal points of view about a spiritual experience shared by five in Hawaii in 1921.

Lavina Fielding Anderson

In 1920–21, David O. McKay, then a forty-seven-year-old Apostle, toured the worldwide missions of the Church, beginning with Japan and Korea. He dedicated the land of China for the preaching of the gospel, visited Hawaii, returned briefly to Salt Lake City for the funeral of President Anthon H. Lund, and then continued through the South Pacific, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Europe. He was accompanied on this arduous year-long tour by Hugh J. Cannon, president of Liberty Stake in Salt Lake City and a member of the Deseret Union Sunday School General Board, of which President McKay was general superintendent.

Among the many spiritual manifestations that occurred during this world tour came a remarkable event during the thirty-six hours they spent on Maui. President McKay and Brother Cannon docked at Maui at 4:30 A.M. February 9, 1921, held a meeting at mission headquarters in the morning, and held another for members in the evening; during the afternoon they visited the sites where Hugh J. Cannon’s father, George Q. Cannon, had met Jonatana H. Napela, resulting in the first baptism in Maui and the organization of the first branch of the Church in Hawaii, and where George Q. Cannon had also received intense spiritual manifestations. Accompanying the party were E. Wesley Smith, Hawaiian Mission president and a son of Joseph F. Smith, who had also served as a Hawaiian missionary; Samuel Harris Hurst, Jr., a missionary of mature years from Idaho who was then president of the Central Maui Conference; and
David Keola Kailimai, a Hawaiian missionary, also of mature years, who owned the little Ford in which the party traveled.

Hugh J. Cannon was greatly touched by visiting the sites associated with his father, and on the grounds of the little chapel at Pulehu, President McKay felt inspired to offer a prayer of thanksgiving. During that prayer, all five men were deeply stirred spiritually, and Brother Kailimai, speaking in Hawaiian to President Smith, said he had seen a vision. President McKay, after President Smith translated Brother Kailimai’s words, did not interpret the vision but confirmed its divine origins by affirming that “the veil was very thin.” Hugh J. Cannon, who had been most profoundly affected during the experience, testified that, at least for him, there had been no veil.

What was the manifestation called forth by the combination of faith and filial love of these five Church leaders? How did the five experience it and how did they describe it, both then and later? What message does it have about the nature of spiritual experience for readers who learn of it through the more distant witness of the written record?

Thanks largely to the kindness of many members of the families involved, I have found sixteen separate accounts of this event, all but four of them unpublished. This essay examines these accounts in chronological order and in the context of the participants’ lives, as an exploration of the dynamics of memory, faith, love, and spirituality.

**Samuel Harris Hurst’s Account**

Of the five participants, only David Kailimai, the man who saw the vision, left no personal account, either at the time or later. Abigail Kahanu Kailimai Kailimai, who is both David’s niece and his daughter-in-law, does not recall an earlier oral version or, in fact, ever hearing this experience from Elder Kailimai. However, Samuel Harris Hurst, Jr., kept a daily diary and recorded the event within hours of its occurrence. Elder Hurst was then thirty-six, a native of Cache Valley, and a widower. His wife had died a lingering death from heart disease shortly before, leaving him with a ten-year-old daughter, Inez. He had had grave doubts about serving a mission under such circumstances but had accepted the calling, at least partly because of his child’s faith, even though he had to sell his farm to pay his expenses.
Prayer under a Pepper Tree

His diary and his autobiography, written in 1958, breathe a solid, simple faithfulness that is very moving. He confesses that being called to Hawaii was "quite a test to my faith." His patriarchal blessing had told him he would "go to the land of my forefathers," which did not seem to be possible. He thought he would be too old to learn Hawaiian fluently and adds with humility, "I had desires to be a good speaker, and I could not see any development for me if simple natives were to be my audience." He wrestled with his doubts about whether his call had been inspired "all the way to Hawaii." But when he saw Wesley Smith, the mission president, waiting for him on the dock, he recognized him as the man with whom he had labored as a missionary in a dream seen two years earlier. This dream had occurred a year before Smith had been called as mission president. "With this," recorded Elder Hurst, "I knew that some power other than that of man was having something to do with it." Elder Hurst also knew that he would be assigned to some island other than Oahu before President Smith made the assignments.¹

Elder Hurst's diary for February 8, 1921, records the prayer under the pepper tree in simple prose but eloquent detail:

Elder McKay, Pres. Smith and Cannon Elder Keola and myself drove. . . out to Pulehu where Pres. Geo. Q. Cannon had his wonderful experience in the conversion of so many of the natives and the first to join the church. As we sat in the little Ford in front of the meeting house there, Pres. Smith related to us the story of how Pres. Cannon in 1850 or 51 had delivered his wonderful discourse in a little church which then stood on the ground we were then on. At this meeting he appeared to be standing in the air with a hallof light around his head. At the same time all but three of the over hundred persons there present were transfigured before him. Bro. Hugh J. Cannon being a son of Pres. Cannon was very deeply effected [sic] more so than any one I have ever saw before. We then alighted from the car and walked around the grounds. At the rear of the old church on the grounds now in the shade of an old tree, Elder McKay said: "Brethren I feel impressed that we should render our thanks to the Lord for the labors of this great man and his co-laborer Pres. Joseph F. Smith whose sons are represented here today." At this we bowed in humble reverence in prayer to God and then I listened to one of the grandest prayers it has ever been my privilege to listen to. At its close Elder Keola test[i]fied he saw a hand and arm extended to me in an attitude of shaking hands. In speaking of this later Bro. McKay said "Bro. Keola, I do not know the significance of the hand you saw, but I know this that the veil between us and the other world was very thin." Bro. Cannon then said
Pulehu Chapel, Maui, Hawaii. In 1921, under the pepper tree seen on the right, Apostle David O. McKay offered a prayer of thanksgiving on behalf of himself and his companions, Hugh J. Cannon, E. Wesley Smith, Samuel Harris Hurst, Jr., and David Keola Kailimai. During the prayer, the party received a spiritual manifestation that moved them profoundly. Courtesy of BYU-Hawaii Archives.
"There was no veil at all" at which the apostle cast a penetrating look at him for he as well as we seemed to be in doubt as to whether Bro. Cannon had beheld a vision or not but no more was said at that time. In closing his remarks in a general meeting held at Wailuku tonight Elder McKay made mention of this again and with tears in the eyes of both men he turned to Bro. Cannon and stapping [sic] on the shoulder said, "My Brother, you have been closer to your Father today than you have ever been before."

Because Elder Hurst spoke Hawaiian, he probably heard Elder Kailimai's testimony to President Smith as it was uttered. Neither here, on the very day that the event occurred, nor later, did Elder Hurst speculate on the possible meaning of this experience. He simply recorded Elder Kailimai's words, President McKay's response, and the powerful emotional and physical effect the manifestation had on Brother Cannon, along with Brother Cannon's testimony of the temporary parting of the veil that separated him from his deceased father. Two of Elder Hurst's daughters confirm that he did not interpret the story in telling it to them in later years. One of the daughters, Cleo Hurst Bailey, comments, "I have some personal feelings about it. All of those particular people—especially Hugh J. Cannon, E. Wesley Smith, and my father—had ancestors who took part in opening the islands to missionary work. I think all of those ancestors were there, and they knew it. It was a personal occasion, a quiet way of confirming that it was appropriate that my father be there."

The ancestor of Elder Hurst who had assisted in nineteenth-century missionary efforts was his grandfather, Frederick William Hurst, whose diary includes moving accounts of visions, inspirational dreams, and answered prayers. He had been born on the Isle of Jersey; his family then emigrated to New Zealand, and as a young man in the goldfields of Australia, he joined the Church with his younger brother, Charles Clement Hurst. As a result, his angry mother disowned him and marked his name out of the family Bible. On April 27, 1855, he and his brother emigrated with seventy-two Saints aboard the Tarquinia. The ship was leaking so badly by the time they reached Honolulu that, after repairs and an attempt to continue, they returned to Honolulu where the ship was eventually condemned. Fred W. contributed all of his savings—a thousand dollars in nuggets sewn into his clothing—to send the other members, mostly families, on to California. He accepted a mission call
from President Silas Smith and almost immediately went to Molokai, where he served from August 1855 to October 1856. Gifted with an irrepressible cheerfulness, he learned Hawaiian quickly and met poverty undaunted. Often he walked barefoot. For a long period of time, food was very scanty. On February 8, 1856, he recorded thankfully, "We had three meals today for the first time for I will not venture to say how long. We fasted about three days this week."  

After his mission, Fred Hurst worked his passage to northern California, where he voluntarily served another mission. When he was forty-two and living in Cache Valley with his wife and seven children, he was called to serve another mission, this time in New Zealand. He responded promptly though his eight-year-old daughter died three days before he left and his wife had six-month-old twins to care for in addition to five older children. In 1892–93, he worked as a painter on the Salt Lake Temple; he also served for many years as stake Sunday School superintendent in Cache Stake and served two stake missions. Throughout many years of poverty, sacrifice, and sorrow, he maintained a merry heart and strong faith. This was the man whose grandson joined in a prayer of thanksgiving with the sons of George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith under the pepper tree at Pulehu and to whose grandson Elder Kailimai saw extended a hand and arm in the “attitude of shaking hands.”

**David O. McKay’s Early Accounts**

The next account is President McKay’s detailed journal of his world tour, which remains unpublished except in excerpts. It is the most comprehensive source of the thirty-six hours the men spent on Maui. The mission history, although it records the young apostle’s visit, does not mention the incident at Pulehu. President McKay describes their visit to the George Q. Cannon sites, then gives this account of the prayer under the pepper tree:

> It seemed to me . . . that we were treading on sacred ground; for surely the Lord was the close companion and guide of that intrepid and faithful missionary [George Q. Cannon].

> We offered a united prayer on the ground, during which Bro. Keola seemed to see two men shaking hands. He thought Hugh J. was shaking hands with Elder Hurst, and was surprised when he opened his eyes to see Brother Cannon standing with bowed head and closed eyes! I do not
McKay party, February 1921, Maui, Hawaii. David O. McKay probably used the notebook seen in his hand for jotting down details of his journey. Pictured are Samuel Harris Hurst (on the left and wearing glasses), Elder McKay (in the center), David Keola Kailimai (behind and to the right of Elder McKay), E. Wesley Smith (with bow tie), and Hugh J. Cannon (wearing a Panama hat with a light band). Courtesy of Cleo Hurst Bailey, who owns the original, and the Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
know the significance of his manifestation, but I do know we all felt as though Pres. Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon, two of the intrepid missionaries of early days, were well pleased with our visit and service on that memorable spot. 8

There is no indication that President McKay knew that Fred W. Hurst, Samuel's grandfather, was also a former Hawaiian missionary. It also seems apparent that he, an Apostle traveling under authority of the First Presidency, was deeply moved by the strong feeling of approbation he felt from the departed Church leaders, Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon. Thus, over time as President McKay told his story, both his own sense of being affirmed in his apostolic mission and his intense attachment to and affection for Brother Cannon reshaped the experience into greater symmetry and logic.

Two months later, speaking at a conference of missionaries and members in New Zealand, he retold the story. This time, he reported that the "two men in a position of handshaking" were "President [George Q.] Cannon and Brother Hurst." This experience is also the only time when the event is attached to a social and doctrinal message. The Saints had been the focus of considerable proselyting zeal from other denominations, and hecklers had interrupted that very session of the conference. President McKay reassured the Saints that they were in the true Church by telling the story of the prayer under the pepper tree. When he reached the point where "Brother Cannon, with tears in his eyes said, 'There was no veil,'" he ended the narrative but added this commentary:

The testimony of his vision is too sacred to give. But let me tell you, my beloved brethren and sisters, his father, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet Joseph, who presided over this Church as the divinely authorized successor to the Presidency of this Church, let me tell you that they live, and these men gave approval of the work now known as Mormonism, which you, brethren and sisters, have embraced.

God keep you to it, and may you know when wolves have entered in among you, even though they have sheep's clothing. Amen. 9

At this point, President McKay's memory of the narrative was almost certainly influenced by the strong spiritual sense of Hugh J. Cannon that his father and President Joseph F. Smith were present. Although neither man has left a record of discussing the manifestation,
they had just spent almost two months at sea; and it seems very likely that their prayers and discourse would have included grateful acknowledgment of this experience, among many others that had been inspirational to them.

**E. Wesley Smith's Account**

By reporting President McKay's words, Hawaiian Mission President E. Wesley Smith, the son of Joseph F. Smith and Julina Lambson Smith, also testifies indirectly to the presence of his father and George Q. Cannon. E. Wesley Smith had been born at Laie, April 21, 1886, when his parents spent almost two years there to avoid the polygamy raids. He had served a Hawaiian mission (1907-10), was Hawaiian Mission president from 1919 to 1923, and would return as president for a second time during the late 1940s. His wife, Mary S. Smith, gave birth to their third child, Donald E. Smith, in January 1920 soon after they reached Hawaii.

According to Donald Smith, his father told the story of the prayer under the pepper tree on Maui as one of many inspirational Hawaiian experiences, but no written account was preserved, and due to the passage of time since his death, it is not possible to reconstruct the exact details he emphasized. According to Donald Smith, his father told the story of the prayer under the pepper tree on Maui as one of many inspirational Hawaiian experiences, but no written account was preserved, and due to the passage of time since his death, it is not possible to reconstruct the exact details he emphasized. Apparently the only written version that E. Wesley Smith left of this account is that which appears in the mission president's annual report for 1921:

> Elders McKay, Cannon, Samuel H. Hurst, Keola Kailimai (local) and I visited the spot in Pulehu, Kula district where Pres. George Q. Cannon had a wonderful manifestation in company with the noble chief Napela. While there Elder McKay said he felt impressed with a desire to offer a prayer [to] the Lord in the spirit of thanksgiving for the privilege they had in being there, and for the many souls who had embraced the Gospel. We bowed our heads, Elder McKay being mouth. It was a moment never to be forgotten, for indeed the spot is sacred. Elder McKay said, "I feel certain that Pres. Cannon and Pres. Smith are near for the veil was very thin." Elder Cannon was deeply impressed and with tears filling his eyes and in a choked voice said, "There was no veil."  

Like Samuel Hurst, Wesley Smith does not comment on whatever he may have experienced or interpret it but rather affirms the presence of the two missionary fathers and testifies to the
Hawaiian Mission President E. Wesley Smith and his missionaries. This pose was photographed between the 6:00 A.M. missionary meeting with Elder McKay and the tour of the historic missionary sites. Samuel Hurst is fourth from the left and President Smith is third from the right. The other missionaries probably include S. Dunn, Byron D. Jones, David Keola Kailimai, David P. Kalani, Chester H. Nelson, and Lester Williams. Courtesy of Cleo Hurst Bailey, who owns the original, and the Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
powerful spiritual experience that Brother Cannon was having. It seems probable that he sensed the presence of his own father. The mission history is replete with loving references to Joseph F. Smith and expressions of joy that the son of this beloved missionary was the current mission president. Wesley Smith's own discourses show a markedly sweet acceptance of his responsibilities as he followed in his father's footsteps, and his own years in Hawaii brought many spiritual experiences.  

**Hugh J. Cannon's Experience**

Hugh J. Cannon, the son of George Q. Cannon and Sarah Jenne Cannon, was fifty-one years old when he and President McKay reached Hawaii. He recorded two brief accounts of the prayer under the pepper tree, one in his personal journal and another in a narrative of the world tour that he prepared for possible publication. His personal journal reads:

I felt that I was treading on holy ground, that the veil between me and my father was very thin. Indeed, I felt that there was no intervening veil. The brethren partook of the same feeling. We had prayers under a tree back of the building and Brother Keola Kailimai says that while we prayed he saw two men shaking hands. He thought I was shaking hands with Brother Hurst and was surprised when he opened his eyes to see me standing with my hands at my side. I do not know the significance of what he saw but I do know that Father and President Joseph F. Smith were there.

Although the date when Hugh Cannon wrote his narrative is not known, it would have been within the next few years, for the typescript was finished and corrected before his death in 1931. In that narrative, Hugh Cannon explains significant experiences of his father that had already hallowed this site

where George Q. Cannon and Brother Napela preached with such power that 97 of the 100 people who came to hear them were converted. The tradition is that Brother Cannon was not standing on the ground on this occasion, but was in the air and that a great light shown [sic] about him.

Under a beautiful tree on the lot where this occurred and where the Church now has a neat little chapel, the visiting brethren engaged in prayer. It was an occasion which none of them will ever forget,
for they stood almost in the visible presence of celestial beings. In looking back on the trip after the lapse of several years, there are few, if any, experiences which are more impressive than this.14

Although Brother Cannon withheld the details of that manifestation from the narrative, no doubt deeming them too sacred for publication at that time, his journal makes it clear that he felt the presence of George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith. Another detail about Brother Cannon’s experience is reported by Samuel Harris Hurst. In his 1958 autobiography, he recalls:

Elder Cannon had related this experience fully to some of my friends and me several years later, and added the following, “My statement that there was no veil has led people to ask me if it was true that I saw the Savior when I was on Maui. I did not see the Savior,” he said, “neither did I see anyone else, but I did hear the voice of my father very distinctly, and he told me several things I had been in doubt about.”15

President McKay’s memory merged the visual detail of the two men shaking hands, which he understood President E. Wesley Smith to have reported, with the unseen presence of the two missionary fathers and the auditory manifestation of Joseph F. Smith speaking to his son. This merging of aspects of the manifestation was no doubt intensified for President McKay by his love for Hugh Cannon. On October 9, 1931, when President McKay was speaking at Hugh J. Cannon’s funeral, he told the story of the prayer under the pepper tree as one of love and approbation from the missionary fathers, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, for their sons, Hugh J. Cannon and E. Wesley Smith.

In this funeral sermon, President McKay, with great warmth, called Brother Cannon “a friend. None truer, none more faithful in all this world,” and distinguished for “his implicit faith in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” In this context, then, President McKay retold the story of the prayer under the pepper tree:

We approached the missionary field made almost sacred by the labors of his father, President George Q. Cannon. . . . I shall never forget the emotions that stirred Brother Cannon’s heart as we neared the island on which his father had translated the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language. Bro. Cannon told me about some confidences that his father had given him, his son, which had never been printed. I had never heard them before . . . . [on one occasion] George Q. Cannon, crushed and discouraged, heard the voice of God.
... [After visiting the site] we withdrew a short distance under a pepper tree, and there bared our heads in thanksgiving and praise to God, and asked his guidance upon our further travels.

I haven’t the time to tell you what happened or what vision came to Brother Kaola [sic], a native missionary, but after Amen was said I opened my eyes, and Brother Wesley Smith, a son of President Joseph F. Smith, who was also deeply impressed on that occasion, and others, came up and said, “Do you know what Brother Kaola was just telling us?”

“No.”

Then he repeated what Brother Kaola had seen during that prayer. We were silent for a few moments and then I said:

“Brother Kaola, I do not know the significance of that vision. But this I do know, that the veil between us and those intrepid missionaries, President Smith, George Q. Cannon and others, was very thin.”

Brother Cannon who was by my side whispered: “Brother McKay, there was no veil.”

Not to him. It just seemed as if he had looked into the other side and felt the presence of his illustrious father and President Smith, who, it seemed, were sharing the experiences of these modern missionaries in that land those first missionaries loved so well.16

The Man Who Saw the Vision: David Keola Kailimai

The next account of this experience dates from 1936 and emerges from a visit that President McKay made to Hawaii as a member of the First Presidency. Thus, it gives us a glimpse into how the account had been told among the Saints of Maui who had continued contact with David Keola Kailimai.17 Elder Kailimai, age forty-eight at the time of this manifestation, was born on March 6, 1873, to Samuel Kailimai and Kauahi Kanakaloloa Kailimai. He had a sister, Emalia, three years older and a brother two years younger, William Hoapili Kailimai. The family had been at Kahuwa near Hilo for at least two generations. His parents had been baptized a month apart, in December 1873 and January 1874; his father, according to an 1895 missionary journal, had served a local mission and was a counselor in the presidency of Kahuwa Branch.18

David was baptized at age ten. He and his wife, Martha (Maka) Kamaka Kaopuni Kailimai, were unable to have children, so they adopted David Kauluwehi, born in 1908, who would have been
Four of the participants and friends. Front row, left to right: David Keola Kailimai, Charles Ako, David O. McKay; back row: Samuel Harris Hurst, Jr., Hugh J. Cannon, Annie Tripp Ako, unknown lady with baby. Courtesy BYU-Hawaii Archives.
thirteen at the time of the Maui experience. This boy married Abigail (Abbie) Kahanu Kailimai, William’s daughter; and they raised a family of five. The two oldest sons are named Castle Kauluwehi and Wesley Keola, in obvious commemoration of two beloved friends and mission presidents, Castle Murphy and E. Wesley Smith.19

In 1913, Brother Kailimai, his wife, and five-year-old David accompanied the Murphy family to Utah where they were endowed and sealed in the Salt Lake Temple; the parents were endowed on October 22, and young David was sealed to them. (The elder David was sealed to Samuel and Kauahi, his own parents, in 1920 in the Hawaiian Temple.) They also spent about three months at Iosepa in Skull Valley. Brother Kailimai reported on these experiences at the mission conference in April 1914, after his return, urging obedience to all of the commandments. He served simultaneously in Alemalai Branch near Hilo from at least 1914 to 1917 as branch president, most of the time with only one counselor, as president of its Sunday School, and as first counselor in the MIA. He had been saving his money to return to Utah and the temple, but after the announcement was made of the temple planned for Laie, he donated his savings, saying, “If I were called to come here and break rock for the temple, I would be glad to do that.”20 Speaking at the mission conference in April 1916 at Laie, he said:

Last year I went to Bro. Woolley and told him I was prepared to return to Utah. He said, “Go back to your branch. Wait a while. We don’t know what changes will come soon.” I did that and I have tried to teach the Saints there the Word of Wisdom, the law of tithing, and the other laws of the gospel. . . . When I heard that the temple was to be built in Hawaii, I rejoiced and from that time until today I have raised my voice in encouraging the people to prepare themselves for that great blessing. I want to tell you what it cost me to go to Zion and return. Perhaps some of you are prepared to go. We can donate that money and the blessing will be an eternal one. If we spend this money, the benefits will go to others and not to us, but if we put it in the temple, we will receive the blessings. It cost us about $500 for our trip to Utah. That does not include the money we spent for food and other incidentals. When I left I had $1000. When I returned I had $3 left. I returned in 1913 and in two years I had enough money to go again.21

After Brother Kailimai’s mission in Maui, Wesley Smith called him as third vice-president of the Polynesian Genealogical Society,
organized at Laie April 3, 1921. Brother Kailimai was serving as priesthood advisor on the Hawaii District Council (the equivalent of the high council) in 1934 with his brother William as president of the Honomu Branch.22 Sister Kailimai died in 1933, and he followed June 26, 1940.

D. Arthur Haycock, a missionary in Hawaii from 1935 to 1938 and later Hawaiian mission president and temple president, affirmed, "I knew David K. Kailimai very well. I don't know of a finer, more spiritual man who ever lived. He was the most outstanding native member and leader I knew, very faithful, very active, the sort of person through whom the Lord could give such an experience."23 Elder Hurst described David Kailimai in his 1958 autobiography as "a man full of faith, and . . . a very fine Elder because of the inspiration that attended him."24

Castle Murphy, who was a missionary in Hawaii from 1909 to 1913 and mission president during the years 1931–36 and 1944–46, praised Brother Kailimai as "one of the most influential leaders and able speakers in the Hawaiian Mission. So great was our admiration for this Hawaiian-Chinese leader that when our son was born in Hilo, we decided to name him Keola after this good man and have him be voice when the blessing was given." Castle Murphy also recorded several instances of Brother Kailimai's faith to be healed and his inspired foreknowledge of events.25

Because Brother Kailimai did not leave an account of the prayer under the pepper tree, it is not possible to know what meaning he gave it or how he regarded it as time passed. However, a parallel source exists in the records of his friend, Jonah Patrick (Pia) Cockett, whom R. Lanier Britsch characterizes as "one of the grand old men of the Church."26 He was a forty-year-old native of Maui in 1920 who had joined the Church in 1902, was principal of Puukolii School on Maui at the time of this event, and would soon serve missions to Kauai and Maui. The father of twelve children, he was a fisherman and also, for twenty-five years, county treasurer of Maui.27

**Jonah Patrick (Pia) Cockett's Account**

President McKay's diary records that Pia Cockett offered the opening prayer at the meeting at Wailuku chapel on the night of
February 8, after the prayer under the pepper tree, so Brother Cockett would have heard Brother Cannon and President McKay tell the story within hours of when it occurred. Almost certainly Brother Cockett would have had many opportunities to hear David Keola Kailimai tell the story (assuming he did), both then and in subsequent years, for Pia Cockett was fourth vice-president in the genealogical society in which Brother Kailimai was third. Although Brother Cockett says he recorded the experience in his 1921 notebook, only a journal for 1924–50 is in the archives. Brother Cockett refers to Brother Kailimai’s vision at Pulehu in both April and July of 1924, then reports telling the mission conference April 9, 1933:

I spoke in Hawaiian and related the vision of D. Keola Kailimai in Pulehu related by David O. McKay on Feb. 8, 1921, where he saw the hand shaking in form of greeting while David O. McKay was praying. Keola thought it was Hugh Cannon and Elder Hurst. After the prayer he told his vision to McKay and he said perhaps the veil was thin that he had seen thru beyond the veil. Hugh Cannon said there was no veil. He must have seen his father Geo. Q. Cannon.28

On April 25, 1937, he records the vision again, adding the detail that Brother Cannon had confessed to feeling depressed before this experience, but this manifestation made him “the happiest man.” He also explained in the 1937 account that President McKay, on his 1936 visit to Hawaii, had heard him tell the story and had corrected his impression that it was Hugh J. Cannon and George Q. Cannon shaking hands; rather, it was “Geo. Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith shaking hands and the hands were seen by David Kailimai.”29

Brother Cockett’s willingness to accept President McKay’s correction points out that for him the importance of the story lay in its sacralization of the land near Pulehu chapel. In all of his versions, he calls it “that sacred spot”; and it had sanctified associations for him, not only through the experience of George Q. Cannon and later of the five men who met in prayer, but also because it was there he was ordained to the priesthood and met his wife, who was not yet LDS. He refers frequently to these events and also records holding both formal and informal testimony meetings there with missionaries and members of the district council in 1924, 1933, and 1943, with allusions to at least two earlier meetings.30
David O. McKay’s Reenactment

Another account has been preserved and it is by far the best known, since it has been published as part of the inspirational stories of President McKay. Returning to Maui in 1955 as president of the Church, President McKay reported and reenacted this experience on the grounds of the Pulchuhu chapel for his party of forty-four. He first recounted George Q. Cannon’s experiences, then recalled the 1921 visit with Hugh J. Cannon, E. Wesley Smith, Samuel Harris Hurst, Jr., and David Keola Kailimai. As President McKay spoke, D. Arthur Haycock, then president of the Hawaiian Mission, dropped to one knee, put his steno pad on the other, and took the account down in shorthand. This account has circulated widely both in typescript and in its published form.

“We became very much impressed with the surroundings, association, and spiritual significance of the occasion,” President McKay remembered; he added they felt impressed to offer a prayer under the old pepper tree that had stood on the site for years. President McKay arranged four of the men present as the other individuals in the original party had stood, then continued:

I offered the prayer. We all had our eyes closed, and it was a very inspirational gathering. As we started to walk away at the conclusion of the prayer, Brother Keola Kailimai took Brother E. Wesley Smith to the side and very earnestly began talking to him in Hawaiian. . . . Brother E. Wesley Smith said, “Brother McKay, do you know what Brother Kailimai has told me?” I answered, “No.” “Brother Kailimai said that while you were praying, and we all had our eyes closed, he saw two men who he thought were Hugh J. Cannon and E. Wesley Smith step out of line in front of us and shake hands with someone, and he wondered why Brother Cannon and Brother Smith were shaking hands while we were praying. He opened his eyes, and there stood those two men still in line, with their eyes closed just as they had been. He quickly closed his eyes because he knew he had seen a vision.”

Now Brother Hugh J. Cannon greatly resembled Brother George Q. Cannon, his father. . . . Of course, E. Wesley Smith has the Smith attribute just as President Joseph Fielding Smith has it. Naturally, Brother Keola Kailimai would think that these two men were there. I said, “I think it was George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, two former missionaries to Hawaii, whom that spiritual-minded man saw.”

We walked a few steps farther, and I said, “Brother Kailimai, I do not understand the significance of your vision, but I do know that the
veil between us and those former missionaries was very thin.” Brother Hugh J. Cannon who was by my side, with tears rolling down his cheeks, said, “Brother McKay, there was no veil.”

Conclusion

The prayer under the pepper tree at Pulehu has much in common with what I feel is a majority of sacred, spiritual experiences that come to members of the Church. Relatively few personal experiences are “First Vision” experiences—spiritual experiences received by one but foundational in the testimonies of all members of the Church. Rather, the personal strength, support, and consolation of spiritual experiences, shared in family circles, through the medium of historical records, and in ward testimony meetings are, I think, opportunities for the Holy Ghost not only to affirm the truth of the experience as received by the teller but, more importantly, to awaken a spiritual hunger in each member of the Church to seek such confirmatory experiences for himself or herself. During the research for the account of the prayer under the pepper tree, I encountered many retellings of this story but perceived each retelling as holy. It has been a profound privilege to enter as a visitor into that sacred story.

The manifestation under the pepper tree teaches us lessons about the nature of spiritual experience. Although all five men stood in the same spot, heard President McKay offer the same words of the prayer, and felt its spiritual impact, they experienced the manifestation in different ways. None of the written accounts attempts to provide a formal interpretation. Even President McKay, who shared the experience with New Zealand members to confirm their testimonies of the truthfulness of the Church, consistently reported that he did not fully understand its meaning. Nor do we. This narrative evades tidy explanations. It has not become part of the inspirational lore of the Church used to teach lessons of faith and obedience, like Mary Fielding’s resuscitated ox or Wilford Woodruff reluctantly leaving his bed to move his wagon.

The historical process is a quest for both facts and truth. For the most part, it is a process that requires and rewards rationality. Yet spiritual experiences are often untidy, paradoxical, unfolding
their meaning slowly over time as the participant’s understanding matures and as other experiences illuminate it. These accounts reinforce and echo each other but do not mirror each other identically, much like the accounts in the New Testament Gospels. They remind us that our human limitations mean we can glimpse portions of a truth, the wholeness of which we will apprehend only later. I feel that the prayer under the pepper tree ultimately meant, to its five participants, less doctrinal information or specific guidance about a problem to be solved than an intimate love, an affirming peace, and a supernal joy. I feel this strongly because, even as far removed as I am, I have heard those echoes and sensed that touch. I am deeply satisfied that the prayer under the pepper tree compels us to puzzle over its meaning, yet still ends in a reverent silence.

My husband, son, and I visited Pulheu Chapel on June 9, 1990, and there found Stanley and Shirley Makekau. Brother Makekau, a landscaping contractor, was donating his Saturday afternoon repairing a faulty sprinkler. William Ka’imaili had baptized him, and Pia Cockett had been a neighbor for many years. He confirmed that the building was no longer used for regular worship services but was often used for firesides and other special meetings. “It is a place to come to get close—very close—to the Spirit,” he said, adding, “When there is a temple on Maui, it will be here.” Obviously, the pepper trees of Pulheu still stand on holy ground.


The author expresses grateful appreciation to David Lawrence McKay and Mildred Calderwood McKay for permission to use the typescripts in their possession of President McKay’s 1920–21 tour of world missions; to George Richards Cannon and Alice Cannon Hicken for sharing material about their father, Hugh J. Cannon; to Alice Barrett Smith and Donald E. Smith for interest in this project and assistance with E. Wesley Smith family materials; to Carol Hurst Briggs and especially Cleo Hurst Bailey, who generously allowed access to the personal papers and photographs of Samuel Harris Hurst, Jr., and Frederick William Hurst; to members of David Keola Kalima’s family who responded to telephone interviews: Gerianne Momilani Lai Yuke Carr, Gail Pialohia Kalima Kapuni, Abigail Kahanu
Kailimai, and especially Lorraine Hoemi Kailimai Carr, who also supplied genealogical information; to D. Arthur Haycock for his personal reminiscences about President McKay’s 1955 retelling of this event and for his recollections of David Keola Kailimai; to R. Lanier Britsch for responding generously with bibliographic assistance; to the staff of the LDS Historical Department Archives, particularly Ronald Watt and Ronald O. Barney, and to Mrs. Leone Doxey, for searching her husband’s New Zealand papers.

NOTES

1 Samuel Harris Hurst, “Memoirs,” 1958, 12; photocopy of mimeograph in possession of Cleo Hurst Bailey; used by permission; mimeographed copy in Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); used by permission. Elder Hurst was largely responsible for freeing the Maui Saints from involvement with kahunas, or native priests who sometimes engaged in witchcraft. In addition, he was responsible for building two chapels on Maui in 1921, one at Kahuki and the other at Peahi, and also helped construct the Kalihi chapel in Honolulu on Oahu. He and his second wife, Ida Nielsen Hurst, served a second Hawaiian mission, 1952–54.

2 Samuel Harris Hurst, Journal, February 8, 1921, photocopy of holograph in possession of Cleo Hurst Bailey; used by permission.

3 Cleo Hurst Bailey, telephone interview, February 5, 1990, and personal communication February 8, 1990; notes in my possession.

4 Frederick William Hurst, Diary, compiled by Samuel Harris Hurst and Ida Frederickson Hurst, 1961; ribbon copy of typescript and photocopy of typescript in possession of Cleo Hurst Bailey; used by permission; holograph in the LDS Church Archives; used by permission. The diary begins with an autobiographical sketch that includes his conversion. For incidents from his Hawaii mission, see pp. 43–66.

5 Hurst, Diary, entries for 1857 (California), 1875–77 (New Zealand), and a summary epilogue, p. 209. See also Cleo Hurst Bailey, “Frederick William Hurst: Australian Gold Missionary in California” (Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Claremont, California, May 31, 1991).

6 The author is currently preparing the McKay journals and the Hugh J. Cannon narrative of the 1921 tour of world missions for publication by the Institute for Polynesian Studies, BYU–Hawaii, in The Church in the Pacific Series under the general editorship of R. Lanier Britsch.

7 A short summary of the visit appears in the Hawaiian Mission, Manuscript History, microfilm of typescript (CR/3695), LDS Church Archives, used by permission. A separate and slightly fuller account is included in Hawaiian Mission Historical Record Book C, 1912–22, #2880, vol. 9 (typescript, “Conference Minutes of Annual Conferences,” microfilmed as LF 3695/series 11/reel 1, item 9), LDS Church Archives; used by permission. The first account does not mention the visit to Pulehu. The second says only: “In the afternoon places of interest in the Central Maui Conference were visited. In the evening a general service was held. . . . Pres. Cannon
told of the experiences of his father on the island of Maui and also expressed his great happiness in being able to be present" (311, under the date of February 20, 1921, but separated by considerable space from the "daily" entry). A few days later in Honolulu, "Elder McKay spoke at some length of his visiting throughout the Islands and of the happiness he had had in goin [sic] over the ground covered by Pres. Joseph F. Smith and Pres. George Q. Cannon" (314, letter no. 17 #4), while "Elder Hugh J. Cannon expressed the pleasure he had had in visiting the places that were so dear to his father" (315).

8 David O. McKay, Journal of World Mission Tour, February 8, 1921, typescript, ribbon copy from manual typewriter, in possession of David Lawrence McKay, photocopy in my possession; used by permission. It is not known exactly when President McKay wrote this entry; but although he would have had little free time during the visit itself, he was known for his habit of taking voluminous notes in a pocket notebook; and some photographs Samuel Harris Hurst took on the afternoon of the visit show the notebook in President McKay's hands. A typescript of the Maui entries covers three single-spaced pages. In addition to President McKay's record of the prayer, he records this comment about Hugh Cannon's address that evening at Wailuku: "Eloquent and inspirational tribute to his father, Pres. George Q. Cannon's labors on this island, Maui. Bore a fervent testimony of the Gospel, and of the confirmation of this testimony that he had this day on the ground where his father received such divine inspiration."

9 The New Zealand Mission History reports and details the visit but not President McKay's sermons. A separate shorthand account was made by the mission secretary, Graham H. Doxey, and is cataloged under the name of the mission president. George Shepherd Taylor, "Report of Sermons of Elder David O. McKay Delivered at the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints held at Huntly, Waikato, New Zealand, April 23rd to 25th, 1921," mimeograph, 8 (Ms/d/5919). The mimeograph does not include Cannon's speech, which obviously preceded McKay's. President McKay consistently referred to Hugh J. Cannon as "Brother Cannon"; hence, his reference to "President Cannon" should be read as George Q. Cannon.

10 In 1970, when President Smith was eighty-four, Don and another son, Julian, "bought some recording equipment for his Christmas present with the idea that he would record some of his experiences. They set it up for him and tested it on Christmas afternoon. The test tape contains this little conversation: 'Now, Pop, what are you going to do with this?' He answered, 'God willing, I'm going to the office in the morning and when I get home, I'm going to start on this project.' He died of a heart attack that night." Alice Barratt Smith, telephone conversation, June 6, 1989, notes in my possession; Donald E. Smith, telephone conversation, February 22, 1990, notes in my possession.

11 E. Wesley Smith, Report of Mission President, Hawaiian Mission, 1921, 175 (CR#12), LDS Church Archives, used by permission. R. Lanier Britsch, Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 538, note 1 to chapter 10, cites this source as part of the Missionary Financial and Statistical Report. This source is currently closed to researchers. However, I was allowed to see and take notes from a photocopy of the page on which this incident was reported.
12 See, for example, Hawaiian Mission, “Mission History,” March 17, June 29, October 11, and November 27–28, 1919. Two years earlier, during the dedication of the Hawaiian Temple, the elderly sister who had cared for Joseph F. Smith as a youthful missionary testified that she had heard him say “Aloha” to her during the ceremony (“Mission History,” December 11, 1919; also cited in Britsch, Unto the Islands of the Sea, 156–58). Speaking at the mission conference at Laie, William W. Waddoups, president of the temple and later of the mission, said: “As I was listening to President Smith I was thinking of his father, the man you all love. I believe that his spirit is with us today and that his hand has been stretched forth to approve this his son. . . . I knew his father. He had a heart of a mother filled with love for all mankind.” “Record of Conferences and Branches, Organizations and Officers, Hawaiian Mission,Compiled October 1914” by O. P. Burr, LDS Church Archives, microfilmed as LR/series 11/reel 2/item 2, p. 356, used by permission. See also an unusual spiritual experience before the dedication of the temple. Elias Wesley Smith, “Cain,” ms/d/5273, LDS Church Archives.

13 Hugh J. Cannon, Personal Journal, 1921; typescript in possession of Alice Cannon Hicken; used by permission.

14 Hugh J. Cannon, Untitled typescript of world tour mission, n.d., 57; original in possession of George Richards Cannon, photocopy in my possession; used by permission. A carbon copy donated by Adrian Cannon is in the LDS Church Archives.

15 Hurst, “Memoirs,” 12. Elder Hurst’s autobiography is more reticent than his journal. He recorded that a manifestation occurred under the pepper tree at Pu’alehu but gave no details, instead referring the reader to the published McKay account in Clare Middlemess, comp., Cherished Experiences from the Writings of President David O. McKay (1953; reprinted, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 50–52, which describes the experience as being a vision of Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon shaking hands with their sons. According to Elder Hurst’s daughter, Cleo Hurst Bailey, he did not wish to publish, even in an autobiography of limited circulation, an account that differed from President McKay’s.


17 Why did the vision come to Brother Kailimai rather than to Hugh J. Cannon, who, apparently, had the most powerful emotional experience out of the five men present? Was it possible that Brother Kailimai had particularly close ties to either George Q. Cannon or Joseph F. Smith? Brother Kailimai would have been thirteen in 1885, when Joseph F. Smith returned to Hawaii for two years; twenty-eight in December 1900, when President Cannon returned for the Jubilee of missionary work in the islands; and forty-three in 1915, when Joseph F. Smith returned for a two-week stay. However, the mission history and other sources contain no evidence either confirming a relationship or ruling one out. Abigail Kahanau Kailimai Kailimai, the daughter-in-law and niece of David Keola Kailimai, could not recall hearing him mention knowing either of these two men (telephone conversation, May 5, 1990, notes in my possession).

18 Family group sheets under the name of Kailimai in the family archive, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; copies of personal family group records provided courtesy of Lorraine Hoemi Kailimai Carr.
These sheets are also the source for the death dates of David and Maka Kailimai. Thomas Brimley, *Thomas Brimley: Missionary to the Hawaiian Islands 1893–1896*, May 14, 1895; photocopy of typescript prepared in 1977 by Bliss J. Brimley of Pleasant Grove in Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

19 Family group sheets under the name of Kailimai in the family archive, Family History Library, Salt Lake City; and copies of personal family group records provided courtesy of Larraine Hoehi Kailimai Carr.


21 Hawaiian Mission, Record Book C., 102–5.

22 Hawaiian Mission, Record Book C., 326; *Directory of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Hawaiian Mission* (N.p., released April 1934), 45–46; copy in Family History Library, 996.9/K2Ha.


26 Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 162.

27 Jonah Patrick (Pia) Cockett, Diary, undated biographical reminiscence beginning p. 1, photocopy of typescript (ms/2354), LDS Church Archives, used by permission.

28 Cockett, Diary, April 9, 1933.

29 Cockett, Diary, April 25, 1937.

30 Cockett, Diary, April 6 and 20, 1924, April 9, 1933, April 25, 1937, and April 24, 1943. Jonah Patrick (Pia) Cockett, “Visit of Pres. McKay in 1921,” typescript; microfilmed as LR 3695/series 21, “Miscellaneous Local Records”/reel 3/Box 4, Folder 9, and listed with other items in the register as “Mission and Local Histories.” They are unpaginated and undated; however, from internal evidence this particular typescript can be dated between 1947 and 1953, probably 1952 or early 1953. Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 162, cites this account by Cockett as CR 3695/Series 1/Box 1, but the LDS Church Archives thereafter began using a cataloging system without a series 1.

Tubing on a Canal

Rick was green
in the elm’s light,
laughing as he
spun. Beneath us,
long grasses waved
and insects stood
on little dents
in the water;
wasps, their bodies
jacked up, throbbing,
sucked at the edge.
Then we went under.
Stiffened and lay
back. At the grate,
a nail of light
blinded us, cars
crossed over out
bodies. Then, Silence
magnified in the tin
culvert, the dark.
We’d frown hard to see
down our tensed bodies,
or let our heads dip
back; but either way
it was blackness,
blackness—and the cool
half-moon of heaven,
the impossible light.

—Philip White
**Royal Hawaiian Quilt**, Lily Kama (1907–1990), Laie, Hawaii, 1937. Gift of the artist. For many years, Lily Kama demonstrated quilting at the Polynesian Culture Center in Laie. This is the first quilt she made on her own. Lily learned quilting from her family; her great-grandmother was one of the first native Hawaiian quilters.

By focusing on the symbols of Hawai'i's earlier independence, this quilt expresses the longing many native Hawaiians felt for that time. In the center of the quilt is the Royal Hawaiian coat-of-arms. The two round topped sticks are “Kapu” and mean “it is forbidden to touch,” an ironic symbol considering the eventual history of the Hawaiian monarchy. Surrounding the coat-of-arms are four Hawaiian flags. The form of the Hawaiian flag is a compromise between Great Britain and the United States, both of whom vied for control of Hawaii in the 1800s. The eight stripes of the flag stand for the eight islands of the Hawaiian archipelago. Courtesy Museum Church History and Art.
The Iosepa Origin of Joseph F. Smith’s “Laie Prophecy”

Tradition attributes to Joseph F. Smith a prophecy about Laie, Hawaii, but his words may have been directed to the Hawaiian colony in Utah’s west desert.

Harold S. Davis

Joseph F. Smith, then an apostle, lived at Laie, Oahu, for about two years in 1885–86. At that time, tradition has it, the Hawaiian Saints who had gathered to Laie were discouraged by drought, harsh living conditions, and barren land; some even wanted to sell Laie and find a different gathering place. In response, President Smith is supposed to have made a prophecy encouraging the Saints to stay at Laie, promising that the barren land would become beautiful and prosperous. Frequent repetition in recent years has made this a popular tradition among many members of the Church in Hawaii.

Diligent search of the libraries and archives at BYU–Hawaii, BYU–Provo, and the Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City, however, has yielded no evidence of the “Laie prophecy” before 1940, though at least forty later documents contain part or all of the 1940 printed version of the prophecy. Church records and journals kept by missionaries in Hawaii during the 1880s do not mention it; in fact, they prove that Laie in the mid-1880s was not a dry, barren wasteland. Nor is there evidence that the Hawaiian Saints were discouraged and anxious to leave Laie at that time.

In the early 1890s, however, just a few years after President Smith’s stay in Hawaii, a group of Hawaiian Saints were struggling to survive in a dry, barren, unfamiliar place—Iosepa at Skull Valley, Utah. Some documents suggest that the “Laie prophecy” originated in a letter or verbal counsel from Joseph F. Smith to those Hawaiian Saints residing at Iosepa around 1890 and that his prophetic assurances were later brought back to Laie. After briefly tracing the
evolution of the “Laie prophecy” since 1940, this article will show, from the language of the prophecy and from missionary records and journals, that President Smith’s words most likely referred to Iosepa and that tradition apparently linked them with Laie after some of the Iosepa Saints returned to Hawaii.

Pedigree of the Prophecy

The earliest printed version of the prophecy appears in an unpublished report by Joseph B. Musser, “Laie—Home Place of the Church in Hawaii.” Musser, who had been a bookkeeper at the Laie plantation, prepared the report for Oahu Stake President Ralph E. Woolley. It was submitted to Church authorities in Salt Lake City about October 1940. The Musser version of the prophecy reads as follows. (Note that Musser credits W. F. Bailey, Hawaiian Mission president from 1936 to 1939, for translating the prophecy, presumably from a version written in Hawaiian.)

Musser (1940)
The Earliest Known Version of the Prophecy

Dear brothers and sisters, do not leave this land, for it is the land chosen by God as a gathering place for the saints in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands as well as in the islands of the sea.

Do not complain because of the trials which have come upon you, because of the desolation and lack of water, which makes it impossible to secure the food to which you are accustomed, and the great poverty in which you are obliged to live.

Be patient for a while for the day will come when this desolate land will become a land of beauty. Springs of water will gush up and spread upon the land, and upon this dry waste you now see the saints will build beautiful homes, they will plant taro and they will eat and drink in abundance. They will also plant trees which will grow to furnish pleasant shade, and the fragrance of flowers will fill the air, and those trees, which we now see growing so luxuriant in the mountains, will be transplanted hither by the saints to grow here, and because of the verdure and beautiful appearance of the land, the birds from the mountains will come hither to sing their songs.

And here will the spirit of the Lord brood over his saints who love him and keep His laws and commandments, and there are those in this house today who shall not depart this life before seeing the fulfillment of those things which I have today uttered under the inspiration of the Lord.
Therefore do not go backward. Work with patience, persevere, stand firm and keep the commandments, including the commandment of gathering, which have been given you, and you shall receive blessings of the spirit, and of the body which will compensate you for the present trials and those that have passed.

God be with you all. (Translated by W. F. Bailey, Pres.-Hawn. Mission)

Since 1940 the “Laie prophecy” has been widely (and variously) quoted. Parts of the Musser version appeared in a 1942 publication in an article by Elder D. James Cannon called “Across the Years.” Many subsequent authors borrowed Cannon’s abbreviated version of the prophecy. In 1950 a magazine article, a slide show, and a pageant used it to celebrate the centennial of the Hawaiian Mission. The Cannon version, with minor word changes, was also featured in the Laie Centennial Pageant during June 1965. Around 1980, BYU-Hawaii librarians used the 1950 slide-show script to caption a black-and-white photograph display. An improved display, exhibited at the June 1990 meeting of the Mormon Pacific Historical Society, used the same captions. Librarian Rex Frandsen probably used the photograph display script when preparing his “Thumbnail History of Laie.” The author of the 1989 Polynesian Cultural Center tour manual probably borrowed its version of the prophecy—still essentially the 1942 Cannon version—from Frandsen. These are only a few of the in-print generations and permutations of the prophecy.

All current versions of the prophecy, however, are not based on Cannon’s article. David W. Cummings’s “Centennial History of Laie” includes a rendition of the prophecy which seems to be based directly on Musser’s report. Cummings’s version follows Musser in the exact number and order of sentences and paragraphs, but Cummings’s language is often exaggerated or sensational; he possibly reworded Musser to suit his own taste.

**The Cummings (1965) Version of the Prophecy**

My brothers and sisters, do not leave this land, for this place has been chosen by the Lord as a gathering place for the Saints of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii nei.

Do not complain because of the many trials which come to you, because of the barrenness of the land, the lack of water, the scarcity of foods to which you are accustomed, and poverty as well.
Be patient, for the day is coming when this land will become a most beautiful land. Water shall spring forth in abundance, and upon the barren land you now see, the Saints will build homes, taro will be planted, and there will be plenty to eat and drink. Many trees will be planted and this place will become verdant, the fragrance of flowers will fill the air, and trees which are now seen growing on the mountains will be moved by the Saints and will grow in this place near the sea, and because of the great beauty of the land, birds will come here and sing their songs.

And upon this place the glory of the Lord will rest, to bless the Saints who believe in Him and keep His commandments. And there are some in this house who will live to see all these things fulfilled, which I have spoken from the Lord.

Therefore, do not waver, work with patience, continue on, stand firm, keep the commandments and also the laws of the gathering, and you will receive greater blessings, both spiritual and temporal, than you now enjoy or have enjoyed in the past. May the Lord be with us all.

Two text families emerge from the Cummings source. Some of these versions are essentially identical to Cummings while others contain the words “inland birds” instead of “birds” in the last phrase of the third paragraph. The “inland birds” version appears in two books by R. Lanier Britsch.¹² Britsch kindly supplied me with a copy of his source material—a sheet containing the prophecy and an attached page by Eva Kapolohau Bray Makuakane which reads:

I was the one who heard this prophecy while I was young, and frequently heard my grandparents telling about it and heard them bear testimony of it to others when occasion arose. As I was asked to write this prophecy, I prayed to the Lord to restore to my mind the things I had heard the prophet Joseph F. Smith prophesy, and [he] gave me an understanding of these things, and I have written as directed by the Spirit.¹³

Britsch discovered the “inland bird” or Eva version (1970) of the prophecy between 1976 and 1978 in a file compiled by Eugene Campbell. I could learn nothing about the identity of Eva Kapolohau Bray Makuakane or the original date of her statement. Yet the Eva version is identical to Cummings except for one comma and the word “inland.” The author of the Eva version could have added “inland” to Cummings to make it compatible with the then-popular version featured in the 1965 Laie Centennial Pageant, which reads “the birds from the mountains”; in any case, the Eva version could
not have existed before 1965. I suspect that the Eva version of the prophecy and Eva’s testimony were part of a script for a local Church play or pageant presented some time between 1965 and 1975.

Moreover, Musser and later versions which follow Cannon include the phrase: “And here will the Spirit of the Lord brood over His Saints.”14 In Cummings’s rewording in 1965, however, the phrase became: “And upon this place the glory of the Lord will rest, to bless his Saints,”15 suggesting something quite different. Yet Cummings’s words are often attributed to President Joseph F. Smith. One author even comments that they “had been interpreted by many Saints to mean that a temple would be built at Laie.”16

President Smith promised the Hawaiian Saints a temple, but his words in this regard were far more direct. On February 15, 1885, the first Sunday that President Smith was at Laie during his third Hawaiian mission, he told the Saints assembled at the Laie meeting-house that “if they would keep the commandments of the Son, they would probably have the privilege of building a temple in this land and performing the ordinances for their dead friends.”17 According to the mission president, Edward Partridge, Jr., “The Saints were overjoyed to meet Bro. Smith, and delighted to hear him preach in their native tongue.”18 Prosperity and a good spirit prevailed in the community at that time.19

Conditions at Laie during the 1880s

To explain why President Smith made the “Laie prophecy,” most authors describe harsh living conditions in Laie in the mid-1880s and great discouragement among the residents. Like the prophecy itself, these stories have been frequently repeated and gradually altered, until some call the lovely land of Laie a “dry, barren waste-land,”20 believing that Laie was desolate one hundred years ago. These comments, from Musser’s “Laie—Home Place of the Church in Hawaii,” are typical of many that followed:

Houses and buildings were purely utilitarian. There were no refinements, no luxuries, life paralleled that of the settlers in the valleys of the western United States and, like those who first looked upon the barren Salt Lake Valley with misgivings, many of the Utah company as well as Hawaiians from more comfortable places, felt that Laie was a
mistake. They advocated selling it for a cattle ranch and trying to secure a better location on the leeward side of the island nearer Honolulu.

During a discussion of this matter in 1885 at which Elder [later President] Joseph F. Smith was present, several of the Saints advocated giving up the struggle as a hopeless one. This meeting was held in the old chapel which stood on the present site of the Temple. President Smith, after hearing the complaints, many of which were no doubt well founded, arose [and gave the “Laie prophecy”].

Similarly, the following scenario appears in the Mission House script at the Polynesian Cultural Center:

In the mid-1880s the land [of Laie] comprised of 6000 acres was very dry as pictured here and was referred to as a barren wasteland. The owner tried to plant sugar cane but failed because of no water. There was little rainfall. Being discouraged, he put the land up for sale. The missionaries of the Church . . . purchased the Laie plantation for a gathering place. . . . They [the Hawaiians] were also having a hard time raising enough food due to lack of water. Being discouraged, they were ready to leave.

According to this script, after President Smith made his prophetic statement, the Saints searched and found water in the Koolau Mountains, drilled twenty artesian wells, and had ample water for all their needs. Most of the hardship stories resemble this one in claiming, without verification, that “scarcity or lack of” water and “barren” land discouraged the Laie Saints. Table 1 lists the reasons for discouragement mentioned by the various versions.

Yet, according to the journal entries of resident missionaries in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, Laie was not a desolate, barren wasteland. There must have been ample rainfall during the spring and summer of 1865, because F. A. Hammond, who made the original land purchase, reported that “the plough-land needs no irrigation and is mostly situated in a bottom slightly elevated above the sea.” Missionaries later learned that the summer months were often dry, especially on the lower plain where the present community of Laie is located. Benjamin Cluff, who completed two missions at Laie during its early years, wrote, “It is a beautiful location, but unluckily in the dry season suffered for the want of water.” And available records show that severe drought occurred on windward Oahu in 1869, 1878, and 1889, and that there was lesser drought during the summers of 1883 and 1887. However, water was available during
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most of the year, and after the discovery of artesian water beneath the lower plain in 1881, several wells were drilled which provided water for irrigation during the dry summer seasons.

The summer drought of 1883 prompted the mission president, Edward Partridge, Jr., to hire the firm of McCandless and Barnes to drill an artesian well in the cane field nearest to the sugar mill. This was the first well paid for by the Church but the fourth one at Laie. Thus, there were four artesian wells flowing when President Joseph F. Smith arrived at Laie on February 10, 1885. Two more wells were drilled for the Church in 1886 before President Smith and his family returned to Utah.26

Missionary journals of J. F. Gates and M. F. Eakel confirm that there was plenty of water at the Laie plantation during the mid-1880s:

We have facilities for a very extensive plantation, plenty of land and water, but our policy is to look first to the spiritual welfare of our people, and for this reason we have not devoted our energies to develop the many resources of wealth that lay around us.27

The past summer has been very dry, so that the cane not under irrigation will amount to but little; that watered from our artesian wells recently sunk is looking very fine. . . . Recently, copious [sic] rains have started the grass over our beautiful hills and valleys.28

Plantation matters are looking quite promising. President King is gradually extending the area of our cane field, so that before long our small mill will be run to its full capacity during the greater part of the year. We have land and water sufficient to raise a thousand tons of sugar per annum, but our mill cannot make over three hundred.29

The cattle on this plantation have suffered but little [during the severe drought of 1889], as there is a good supply of water here and considerable grass in the hills and mountains close at hand.30

I suspect that Laie’s present weather patterns are similar to those in the late nineteenth century. Laie still experiences strong winds, heavy rains, floods, and drought at various times. The “scarcity of water” stories also err by implying that during the mid-1880s “unfavorable conditions” occurred most if not all of the time.

Another often-cited reason for the Saints’ discouragement is the supposed “barrenness” of Laie. Musser wrote, “An old photograph of Laie settlement shows but two or three trees on the whole stretch of land below the present site of the building as Lanihuli. It was bare cattle range.”31 But Musser is referring to the lower plain,
Original Laie Plantation buildings. Courtesy BYU-Hawaii Archives. While at Laie, Susa Young Gates wrote this description: “Inside our picket fences is the much-added-to mission house . . . also a large square new house used as bedrooms, by mission-house boarders, and three other various-size houses used as dwelling houses by the families living here. A wash-house (the old cook-house moved away and turned to its present use) stands back a ways from the mission-house. [Note the clothesline in the foreground.] Near this rises our huge wind mill pump . . . Under it . . . has been built a very convenient bath room with a huge tub, and shower bath. Near these, on the southeast of the mission-house, stands the barn, one side of which is used as a carpenter shop” (“Homespun,” Deseret News, February 22, 1886, 206).

Matthew Noall built the mission home: “My first assignment here [was] to build a one-story house, including four single-room apartments (each 12 x 12 feet in size) in which the missionaries staying at Laie could live . . . President Joseph F. Smith was my helper, even on the scaffold work when we made the cornices” (“To My Children,” 33; see also Noall’s journal, November 27 and December 2, 1885).
Laie sugar mill complex (southeast side). The mill on the left, which replaced the original mill, was built by James Hamilton Gardner while Harvey Cluff was president. The shed on the right was added later. It was used for drying the waste cane stocks, which then served as fuel for the mill. The mill pond is in the foreground. Courtesy BYU-Hawaii Archives.
not the whole Laie property, and he calls the lower plain “bare” simply because there were few trees there. Cannon and Johnson changed Musser’s narrative to read, “Laie was a barren site when the Church purchased it,” suggesting that all of the land from the seashore to the top of the Koolau Mountains was barren, treeless, and nonproductive. Hardship stories written in 1957 and 1965 amplify the harshness, claiming that “water was scarce and the land a barren waste.” Thus the written version of the story began; later it was modified and compounded to perpetuate the impression that all of Laie was a “desolate dry, barren wasteland” in the mid-1880s.

This portrayal of Laie is drastically different from the green, lush pasture land described by the resident missionaries, who considered Laie part of the “Paradise of the Pacific.” Even in the 1860s, the Laie estate was considered one of the “very best grazing, agricultural tracts on O‘ahu.” The following journal entries indicate that the lower plain was covered with rich grass in 1864 and well into the 1880s:

[The eastern portion of the Laie estate is a] level plain of several hundred acres, covered over with luxuriant grass. Everywhere the pasture is excellent, . . . Hills clothed with grass to their summits. No trees or shrubs . . . along the grassy stretch of a mile and a half, lying between Laie Malou and Laie proper.

The Possibility of Selling Laie

Some of the hardship stories say that disgruntled Hawaiians wanted the Church to sell Laie and obtain land elsewhere. No evidence has been found in the journals or in the mission records that this might have happened. On the contrary, the records praise Laie. An alternative gathering place would have had to match Laie: fertile land and water for the natives’ kalo (taro) gardens, access to a fishery and to the mountains, and a large acreage of land suitable for raising sugar cane. Marvin E. Pack, a missionary at Laie in the early 1880s, wrote the following in his history, “The Sandwich Islands Country and Mission”:

After having visited every portion of the Islands, the writer is impressed with the superiority of Laie above every other location upon the whole
Lanihuli Mission Complex, Laie Sugar Plantation, about 1907 (southeast side). In the lower left is the schoolhouse. The new mission home in the distance is evidence of progress. Courtesy BYU-Hawaii Archives.
group for the purpose for which it was designed, and far as my knowledge goes it is the universal testimony of all elders who have visited the Islands that no better choice could have been made.39

Even if an equally good site had been found, abandoning Laie would have cost too much. The Utah Church was in deep financial straits in the mid-1880s, and property and improvements suitable for a new gathering place in Hawaii would have cost at least $200,000 at that time. In 1884 all or part of the Kāhuku Ranch, located north of Laie, was for sale by James Campbell for $15 to $20 per acre.40 According to President Partridge, this property was inferior to Laie.41 The Church had completed a new sugar mill at Laie in 1881, and they were still paying on the mortgage. A new meetinghouse had been dedicated in 1883; the Hawaiian Saints had put substantial labor, money, and sacrifice into the structure, and they viewed it with pride and reverence. Also, according to devout Church members, then and now, Laie was divinely chosen by God as a gathering place for the Saints in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.42 It is doubtful that local members, especially owners of kuleana (homestead land), wanted to leave Laie—except to gather to the “land of Joseph” in Utah.

Of course, even if no one wanted to abandon Laie, the discouragement reported in the hardship stories may have been very real to some of the residents. How was morale at Laie when President Joseph F. Smith was there in 1885-86? According to journal entries, missionaries at Laie did not complain much about physical adversities, except for poor housing (especially in the early days), the scarcity of fresh wheat flour, and the periodic abundance of rats, mosquitoes, and fleas.43 They were discouraged mostly by the slow progress of many Saints in living gospel principles—and by the members’ failure to appreciate what was being done for them on the plantation.44 Yet this discouragement must not have been severe. Missionary journals and histories indicate that harmony and prosperity prevailed on the Laie plantation in the mid-1880s.

Unfortunately, little is documented about the feelings and experiences of the native Saints. Some apparently had difficulties. On January 26, 1884, President Partridge wrote to President John Taylor that the three “natives cultivating on shares might come behind.” Later journal entries show that one of these natives had a poor cane crop, owed the plantation fifty dollars, and wanted to
move to Utah.\textsuperscript{45} Living conditions at Laie were harsh during the early years from 1865 to around 1880; however, they were better at Laie for native Hawaiians than elsewhere. In 1877, on his second mission, James Kesler stated,

natives who have gathered to Laie are in a better condition than any of the native population on the Islands that I have seen. . . .

At Laie . . . they have more liberty, and are better off for food and raiment.\textsuperscript{46}

The new mission president, Edward Partridge, Jr., recorded the following observation in his journal on June 18, 1882, just one week after arriving at Laie on his second mission to Hawaii:

I find things much different here now to what they were when I was on this mission before. The people are not so poor, have better houses, dress better, have more money and appear altogether more civilized people. They have more conveniences and comforts generally.\textsuperscript{47}

President Partridge was released shortly after Joseph F. Smith arrived at Laie on his third mission to the islands. During an interview in Salt Lake City on March 14, 1885, Partridge reported that Laie was “perhaps more prosperous than any time in the past.”\textsuperscript{48}

Conditions for both the Hawaiians and the Utah missionaries residing at Laie continued to improve during the 1880s.\textsuperscript{49} In fact, 1880 marked the beginning of a new era for the Laie plantation and the Church mission in Hawaii: fifteen years of relative prosperity, peace, and plenty. In 1893, at the request of President Wilford Woodruff, Hawaiian Mission President Matthew Noall was able to give the Utah Church more than $20,000 to help maintain its financial solvency. According to President Noall, the sum was amazing, but the Saints at Laie “laid aside enough money to help the Church at home and to get ourselves out of the red.”\textsuperscript{50} Clearly, in the mid-1880s, the Laie plantation was not facing a financial crisis.

Possible Origin of the Joseph F. Smith Prophecy

The evidence shows that Laie was never dry and barren, that there was neither noticeable drought nor extensive crop failure at Laie in the mid-1880s, and that the Laie Saints were not particularly discouraged at the time of President Joseph F. Smith’s presence.
Since these conditions did not prevail at Laie when he was there, President Smith’s prophetic words of extraordinary encouragement were not needed in that place. The prophecy and explanatory hardship story are inconsistent with evidence from the Laie of the mid-1880s. Moreover, Musser claims that his version of the prophecy was “translated by W. F. Bailey, Pres.—Hawn Mission.” But on February 13, 1991, President Bailey reported that he had not heard of the prophecy before that evening and that he did not translate it.\textsuperscript{51} So where did Musser obtain the version of the prophecy quoted in his article? And how did the prophecy become so important to the Hawaiian Saints?

Professor Lanier Britsch believes “there is little reason to doubt that President Smith made this prophecy, . . . [but] the accuracy of statements remembered after so many years must be questioned.”\textsuperscript{52} I agree. I propose that President Smith did indeed make the prophecy—probably sometime around 1890 to Hawaiian Saints at Iosepa, Skull Valley, Utah.

**Iosepa—the Hawaiian Colony in Utah**

By the late 1880s, about seventy-five Hawaiians were living in the northwest section of Salt Lake City, Utah, in an area affectionately called “Hill of Hawaii.” For a number of reasons, the Hawaiians were not well integrated into Salt Lake community life.\textsuperscript{53} Deeply concerned for their social welfare, Church leaders established the community of Iosepa in Skull Valley, “as a gathering place for the [native] Saints from the Islands of the sea.”\textsuperscript{54} *Iosepa* is “Joseph” in Hawaiian. Here they would be able to work together, practice their religion, and eventually mesh with Utah culture and environment.\textsuperscript{55} Iosepa was founded August 28, 1889, and functioned until 1917. Typical of many pioneer towns still being colonized by the Church in the late nineteenth-century,\textsuperscript{56} “the Iosepa colony began as a struggle to survive. Colonists battled isolation, severe weather, financial difficulties, leprosy, and a high mortality rate.”\textsuperscript{57} The struggles and discouragement of the early Iosepa settlers make it likely that President Joseph F. Smith’s prophecy was responsive to their problems.

Prior to and throughout the life of the Iosepa colony, President Smith and the other members of the First Presidency maintained a
close relationship with the Hawaiian Saints in Utah. Both George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith had served missions in Hawaii. Both always manifested great love and concern for Hawaiians, and both were highly esteemed by Hawaiian members of the Church. Many of the Hawaiian members considered President Smith, who had been to Hawaii most recently, a kind and benevolent father. They were his "children." Some twenty letters written around 1890 confirm this warm relationship, indicating that the Hawaiians went directly to President Smith for counsel and help and that he responded promptly and lovingly.

Some of these letters gave counsel to the Hawaiian Saints who had decided to leave Iosepa. Samuela Kii, his wife Caroline, and their two children had experienced the previous hard winter at Iosepa, where they shared one room in the "big" house with another family. President Smith's letter to Samuela on January 9, 1891, suggests that they had talked earlier with him about returning to Hawaii:

Aloha to you all—There is in this letter from me to Paka [mission president Ward A. Pack], telling him and all others, that you do not go home [to Laie] with a bad spirit . . . nor thought of leaving the Church . . . but because you so desire . . . [We know that you have made up your mind to go home], but I am not going to censure you because of it. That's with you and the Lord.

I am with love, Iosepa Smith.

Such correspondence shows that President Smith knew the Hawaiian Saints at Iosepa, was aware of their struggles, was concerned for their welfare, and hoped they would stay in Utah. It was at Iosepa, and not at Laie, that many Hawaiian Saints were discouraged.

Apparently many of the Iosepa colonists at least entertained the idea of returning to Hawaii; and more would have left Iosepa in its early years, except that the mission/colony president, Harvey Cluff, encouraged them to stay. During a Sunday meeting in August 1894, he told them "they were the first fruits of the gathering from the islands of the sea and that they were under the dominion of the Kingdom of God." According to Atkins, "the purpose of these remarks was to check the enthusiasm that stirred the colonists and made some of them desire to return to their island home. This talk had a profound effect upon the colonists. They unanimously gave up their
desire to return at that time.” President Smith’s prophecy could have been given in similar circumstances with similar effect.

**Internal Evidence for the Iosepa Hypothesis**

The words in the popular versions of the Joseph F. Smith prophecy reveal much about its origin. Why would President Smith use words and phrases like “desolation,” “dry waste,” “lack of water,” “great poverty,” and “impossible to secure the food to which you are accustomed” to describe conditions at Laie? He wrote the following about Laie in the spring of 1885:

Took a short walk with Julina & baby on the hill overlooking the rice lois and valley of Laie. The picture was beautiful. The mountains rising high up in the west and south bathed in fleecy clouds, and in the falling shadows of the early evening formed a dark background studded here and there by the star-like glimmering of the lighted cottages of the natives, which sparkled like golden spangles on a robe of velvet; and in the north and east the sea, illumined by the reflections of the mellow rays of twilight, appeared like a vast mirror, limited only by the distant horizon, set in a flame of floss-like clouds and standing on the base of coral reefs along the shoreline ruffled in the gausey frills of the foaming surf.

Given this description, President Smith’s prophetic advice, “Be patient for a while for the day will come when this desolate land will become a land of beauty,” could hardly apply to Laie. On the other hand, this counsel and the negative features listed above could easily and precisely refer to conditions at the Iosepa colony in its early years. Furthermore, the promises described in the latter paragraphs of Musser (1940), except for planting taro, were literally fulfilled at Iosepa within a few years.

Other words and phrases in the Musser version also apply accurately to Iosepa and not to Laie. For example, Musser refers to a gathering place for the Saints “in the Hawaiian Islands as well as in the islands of the sea.” Before the Hawaiian Temple was completed in 1919, Laie was the gathering place for Church members from the Hawaiian Islands only. (Prior to the turn of the century, *Sandwich* was used in naming the islands and the Church mission there.) During dedicatory services on August 18, 1900, Wilford Woodruff dedicated Iosepa-Skull Valley as the gathering place for the native “Saints from the Islands of the sea.”
The Iosepa Cemetery in Skull Valley, Utah, about 1965. Buried here are many of the Polynesian Saints who succumbed to cold winters, unaccustomed food, and illness during Iosepa’s early days. The Cedar Mountains stretch along the horizon. Courtesy of the Church Archives. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Another problem in the Musser account is the promise that “birds from the mountains will come hither to sing their songs.” In Hawaii, “birds from the mountains” are adapted to a rain-forest environment and do not frequent the coastal plain. But birds from the Utah mountains would come to the meadows of Skull Valley and sing in the trees planted around Iosepa.

The diet of the islanders in the 1880s consisted mainly of poi made from the taro plant, fish, and, occasionally, pork. Since taro will not flourish in Utah’s desert environment, at Iosepa it would be “impossible to secure the food to which [the Hawaiian colonists] were accustomed.” Not so at Laie. However, the resourceful colonists managed to make an inferior grade of poi from wheat, and they raised fish in local ponds and in a small reservoir called Kanaka Lake.

**The Iosepa Connection**

How did the prophecy get back to Laie, and how was it gradually changed? Current Laie tradition has it that a Sister Ivy heard President Smith make the prophetic statement when she was young and she later recorded it. Sister Ivy is remembered and respected by members of the older generation at Laie with whom I have spoken.

Through local inquiry and a visit to the Laie cemetery, I learned that Sister Ivy’s maiden name was Ivy Kekuku and that she was a long-time resident of Laie. Ivy was born April 8, 1884, and would have been one year old when President Smith arrived at Laie on his third mission to the Islands: she could not have understood or remembered anything he said at Laie during the mid-1880s. But she could have heard him make an encouraging prophecy in Iosepa a few years later.

Ivy Kekuku and her family (her parents, Joseph and Miliamia; two sisters; and a little brother) were in the first group of Hawaiian pioneers to settle Skull Valley. Their company, consisting of about forty adults and ten children, arrived at Iosepa on August 28, 1889, under the direction of Harvey H. Cluff, newly called president of the mission and colony. Three months after they arrived, Ivy’s mother gave birth to a baby girl, who lived only a short time. After spending the winter in the crowded living quarters at Iosepa, the Kekuku family returned to Laie in the spring of 1890. Their reason for leaving Iosepa was that the winters were too cold. Indeed, that first winter
for the colonists was colder and longer than normal. However, the
death of their baby probably increased this family's desire to return
to their relatives in Hawaii. Their close friends, the Kii family, re-
turned to Laie about nine months later.

Ivy's mother, Miliama, was well known at Iosepa and at Laie, for she served as a counselor in the presidencies of women's organ-
izations in both places. In addition, she had a beautiful singing
voice and displayed her talent numerous times for the Utah mission-
aries and for President Smith and his wife.\textsuperscript{72} The Kekuku family was well acquainted with President Smith; they probably sought his
advice before deciding to return to Hawaii.

Sister Ivy was six years old in the spring of 1890, when her fam-
ily left Iosepa. She could have remembered what President Smith said at that time, especially if her memory was reinforced by her par-
ents' testimony in later years. These circumstances give credence—
but not positive proof—to the Laie tradition about Sister Ivy. Other colonists, even those who left Iosepa years later, could also have carried the story back to Laie.

Conclusion

More than forty writers have quoted part or all of the Joseph F.
Smith "Laie prophecy" since 1940. Yet before that date, no evidence
has been found, even in the journals of resident missionaries, about
the tradition. Furthermore, sources show that conditions at Laie
in the mid-1880s were prosperous and that the local members were
not discouraged.\textsuperscript{73} There was little reason for such a prophecy in Laie
at that time.

The prophecy probably originated in response to problems
which existed at the Iosepa colony in Utah during the early 1890s.
Though there is no written record of President Smith's words, he
could have counseled one or more members of the colony to remain
at Skull Valley because "it had been dedicated by a prophet of God
[Wilford Woodruff] as a gathering place for the [native] saints from
the Islands of the sea."\textsuperscript{74} Based on the best available evidence, part of
which is circumstantial, I suggest that President Smith's encouraging
words to the Iosepa Saints were brought back to Laie as a family
tradition and later recorded. After being translated into English
sometime before 1940, this account became Musser's version of this tradition.

Seeing the sacrifices of the Hawaiian Saints who faithfully colonized Iosepa-Skull Valley in Utah's west desert helps us to understand the importance placed on the inspiring words of encouragement and promise attributed to their beloved leader, whose words would not fade in the Hawaiian memory even after the Iosepa experience was long past.

Harold S. Davis is a retired civil engineer. He and his wife, Reva J. Davis, were service missionaries at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Laie, Oahu, in 1989–90.

**NOTES**


2 Joseph B. Musser, "Laie—Home Place of the Church in Hawaii," unpublished. Musser's report, although listed on the inventory of the library at Brigham Young University-Hawaii, was missing when I was at Laie in 1990. It was also missing from the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Special Collections), and from the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). A copy of Musser's report was subsequently obtained from a private source.

3 Comfort Margaret Bock, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands" (Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1941), 55, 93.


5 Anna Johnson, "One Hundred Years in Hawaii," *Paradise of the Pacific*, August 1950, 6. Johnson's version is almost identical to Cannon's found in "The Hawaiian Mission in Review," and hers is the one most quoted in the literature during the next fifteen years. The slide presentation at the 1950 Centennial Pageant depicted the history of the Hawaiian Mission from 1850 to 1950. A copy of the original script, "One Hundred Years of Mormonism in Hawaii," is at the Brigham Young University-Hawaii library. The pageant included over five hundred performers and a five-hundred-voice choir. It was presented several times during August 1950 at the University of Hawaii's Andrews Open Air Theater. Professor Joseph F. Smith, grandson of the prophet, was then the head of the university's speech department and directed the pageant. See Joseph F. Smith, ed., Script for 1950 Centennial Pageant, unpublished, BYU-Hawaii Archives. See also Arthur Haycock, "Heritage in the Pacific," *Improvement Era* 53 (December 1950): 952.


8 “Mission Home Script,” typescript by staff members of the Polynesian Cultural Center, Laie, Hawaii, 1989, copy in the author’s possession.


As mentioned earlier, most accounts are evidently related to either the Cannon or Cummings version, but other random accounts appear that cannot be clearly traced to either version. They are Ralph E. Woolley, “Dedication Program of the Laie Ward Chapel,” March 5, 1950, typescript, 5, copy in the BYU–Hawaii Pacific Islands Special Collections; Henry K. Lindsey, “Prophecies That Will Directly or Indirectly Affect the Destiny of Laie and the Surrounding Areas,” typescript in the BYU–Hawaii Pacific Islands Special Collections, also published by permission of the author in Paul Cheesman and Millie Foster Cheesman, Early America and the Polynesiens (Provo, Utah: Promised Land Publications, 1975); Edward L. Clissold, “The History of Efforts to Establish a College in Hawaii,” address given at dedication services, December 17, 1958, Laie, Hawaii, excerpts published in David W. Cummings, Mighty Missionary of the Pacific, 267; 40th Anniversary Dedication of the Hawaiian Temple, pamphlet, November 26, 1959, copy in the BYU–Hawaii Pacific Islands Special Collections; Paul Cheesman and Millie Foster Cheesman, Early America and the Polynesiens; Lance Chase, “History of BYU–Hawaii,” video tape presentation, 1985, copy in the BYU–Hawaii media file; and Gordon B. Hinckley, “Dedictory Address at Iosepa, Skull, Utah,” August 28, 1989, typescript in possession of the author.

11 David W. Cummings, “Centennial History of Laie (1865–1965),” Laie Centennial Committee, June 1965. I believe Cummings himself wrote this version of the prophecy because it appears for the first time in his commemorative booklet and it matches the flamboyant style used in the rest of his history. Cummings certainly had access to Musser’s report because his history contains some information found only there. Cummings’s version of the prophecy almost certainly follows Musser: the texts are identical in number and order of sentences and paragraphs, and the ideas expressed in all but one sentence are similar.

12 Britsch, Unto the Islands of the Sea, 142. Britsch extracted material from this work, including the Laie prophecy, for his book Moramona, 101.

13 Eva Kapolohau Bray Makuakane, copy in possession of the author.


15 Cummings, “Centennial History of Laie.”

16 Spurrier, Sandwich Island Saints, 55.

17 Edward Partridge, Jr., Journal, February 15, 1885, BYU Special Collections.

18 Partridge, Journal, February 15, 1885.

19 Partridge, Journal, January 27, 1885.


22 PCC scripts.

23 Francis A. Hammond to President Wells, May 7, 1865, Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star 27 (August 19, 1865): 527.


The average rainfall at Laie is about fifty inches per year on the lower plain and up to two hundred inches near the top of the Koolau Mountain ridge, which forms the western border of the Laie estate. Journal entries of resident missionaries during the mid-1880s provide a reliable record of general weather conditions at the lower plain, including periods of drought. These journal entries also show that the mid-1870s and mid-1880s were wet years.

Edward Partridge, mission president and manager of the Church plantation, recorded in his journal that the first two artesian wells at Laie were drilled in 1881 for Chu Su Lin, who had leased forty-eight acres of marshland for growing rice. The third well was drilled the following year for J. Kapau, a native attorney, on his homestead at Laiemallo (Partridge, Journal, June 14, 1882, and December 27, 1885). Susa Young Gates reported that two more artesian wells had recently been completed down in the cane fields (Susa Young Gates, "Homespun," *Deseret News*, August 19, 1886, 530).

33 A number of the authors who quote the Laie prophecy did not promulgate the legend that Laie was once a dry, barren wasteland but claimed other reasons for the prophecy's origin. Britsch stated simply that "the prophecy grew out of the problems of the times" (Britsch, *Moramona*, 101).
34 Matthew and Claire W. Noall, "To My Children," 1947, BYU Special Collections, 24. Noall served a mission to the Sandwich Islands in 1885 and was mission president there in 1892-95. Joseph F. Smith assisted Noall, who was a carpenter, during several building projects in 1885.
35 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* [Honolulu], January 28, 1865, as quoted in Spurrier, *Sandwich Island Saints*, 46.
41 Partridge, Journal, May 13, 1884.
43 Partridge, Journal, February 26, 1884. See also Noall, "To My Children," 32, 36.
45 Partridge, Journal, January 26, 1884, March 9, 1884, and January 16, 1885.
46 James Kesler to David O. Calder, Deseret News, October 10, 1877, 570.

James Kesler served his first mission in 1850.
47 Partridge, Journal, June 18, 1882.
48 "From the Sandwich Islands," Deseret News, April 8, 1885, 188.
49 Britsch, Moramona, 90.
52 Britsch, Moramona, 220 n. 17.
59 Joseph F. Smith letters. Five of these letters were written to Elder H. N. Kekauoha, who arrived in Utah during May 1890 and returned to Laie with his family about three years later. Others reveal President Smith’s close ties with and deep concern for his “Hawaiian children”: “We are all well. Our hopes are high. Our spirits are light and we have enough of everything that is good for the body and the Spirit, therefore we are blessed here [at Iosepa]. The members are living right. . . But there are some folks that have gone backward and they have left Iosepa by night [July 1, 1890].” President Smith sent some cloth pants to another “to keep you warm in the cold days as you carry on the work [November 7, 1890].” Sister Kapukini addressed her letter to “Father Joseph.” Joseph F. Smith received it on July 27, 1888, and annotated it with “answ’d [it] in person.”
60 Joseph F. Smith to Samuela Kii, Joseph F. Smith letters, January 9, 1891.
61 Harvey H. Cluff, Journal, August 5 and 6, 1894, LDS Church Archives.
63 Francis M. Gibbons, Joseph F. Smith: Patriarch, Preacher, and Prophet of God (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 142. Gibbons apparently had access to President Smith’s diaries, including those for 1885 and 1886 (not available to the general public at the present time). Since there is nothing in Gibbons’s or other biographies about the Laie prophecy and events surrounding its origin, it is assumed that there is nothing in President Smith’s diaries about the prophecy.
64 Musser, “Laie—Home Place of the Church,” 9. Susa Young Gates stated, “The long walk home [from the ocean beach] over the grassy meads and hill, is lovely just as the western sun is dipping behind the wooded mountain tips. And we stand a moment on the brow of the hill, drinking in with grateful ecstasy the soft loveliness of hill and vale, river and sea.” Deseret News, September 8, 1886, 530.


68 Frederick Beesley, Journal, March 8, 1886, BYU-Hawaii Pacific Islands Special Collections; and Panek, “Life at Iosepa,” 68. Note that Beesley calls the root from which poi is made “kalo,” the Hawaiian name for taro until around the turn of the century. If the “Laie prophecy” had been recorded in the mid-1880s, one would expect to see “kalo” and not “taro” and “Sandwich Islands,” not “Hawaiian Islands,” in the text. This word usage indicates further that the “Laie prophecy” is of modern origin.


70 Cluff, Journal, August 28, 1889. Cluff gives the following names for members of the Kekuku family in his list of colonists: Joseph (father), Miliama (wife), and Hattie, Ivy, Viola, and Edwin (children).


72 Partridge, Journal, February 16 and 25, 1885. He recorded that Miliama sang at two evening socials attended by President Smith and his wife. Susa Young Gates praised Miliama’s singing talent as follows: “A solo by Mele Ema [sic], whose glorious voice soars out, sweet and clear as a silver bell, full of pathos and beauty. . . . It charms you into forgetfulness of earth and earthly things” (Susa Young Gates, “Homespun,” Deseret News, December 14, 1887, 759).

73 Britsch, Moramona, 90.

74 Harvey H. Cluff, “Family Journal,” 345. Note that President Woodward used the words “islands of the sea,” the same words used by Musser fifty years later.
The Window

Behind the curtain
Of the open window
She stands quiet—
Eyes averted, head bowed.

She turns to peek,
Then snaps back
At the sound of kicks
And high neighs.

There were father’s words,
“It’s not fit a girl watch.”
But more than his words,
She fears forbidden things.

While mother lived,
There were games
In the front parlor
At times like this.

Now at sixteen, she’s
Woman of this house,
And likely soon,
Woman of another.

She slams the sash against
The neighs and thuds of kicks,
But most of all, the shouts
And men’s coarse laughter.

—John Sterling Harris
Center panel from Bishop Sheets's Quilt. The symbols in this block express the Latter-day Saint quilters' values of cooperation and industry (the beehive) and faith (the all-seeing eye of God). See “Quilting Sisters” in this issue for more details. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
Sisters under the Skin: Utah’s Mormon and Non-Mormon Women and Their Publications

Although opponents in the antipolygamy controversy, Mormon and non-Mormon female journalists nevertheless shared basic beliefs about a woman’s role in family and society.

Sherilyn Cox Bennion

Recent historical research has contradicted the idea that most nineteenth-century women stayed safely at home, happy to be cherished and protected in their domestic sphere. Although they called themselves “ladies” and espoused the ideals of “true womanhood,” they also stepped out of their traditional roles as the century progressed to organize and join campaigns for civic improvement, becoming moral guardians of the community as well as the home. Utah women, both Mormon and non-Mormon, followed the pattern that developed throughout the country as they worked to promote education, cultural opportunities, and moral improvement. They diverged in their ideological views and in their belief in such practices as polygamy, but their efforts to defend their disparate views arose from common impulses. Exemplifying the movement of women from private to public life, they shared more than they realized as they formed societies and founded publications.

From 1880 to 1883, Utah’s Mormon and non-Mormon women published periodicals that reflected their differences. With strong, sometimes strident, prose, they championed their own ideas and attacked their opponents. Still, an examination of the Mormon Woman’s Exponent and the non-Mormon Anti-Polygamy Standard reveals that they were sisters under the skin. They took opposing sides on the issue of polygamy, but both supported religious commitment, self-improvement, community involvement, and social reform, at the

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same time stressing the primacy of home and family in women’s lives. Even their arguments for or against polygamy arose from common Victorian ideas about woman’s sphere.

The Woman’s Exponent and Anti-Polygamy Standard

Journalism was one of the few professional careers with which these ideas proved somewhat compatible; thus a considerable number of women worked as reporters or editors for newspapers and magazines during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1872, Brigham Young approved the founding of the Woman’s Exponent by Louisa Lula Greene, and she promised in a prospectus for the paper that it would cover “every subject interesting and valuable to women,” from current news to household hints. Usually appearing twice a month from 1872 until 1914, the Exponent also served as the organ of the Relief Society, although it was owned by its editors, first Greene and then Emmeline B. Wells, who took it over in 1877.

Non-Mormon women in Salt Lake City, who organized to combat what they saw as the threat to family and moral life posed by the Mormon practice of polygamy, also founded a paper with Jennie Anderson Froiseth as editor. The monthly Anti-Polygamy Standard arose in 1880 from impulses similar to those that inspired the Woman’s Exponent, and leaders of the Ladies’ Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah, begun in 1878, had aims remarkably like those of the LDS Relief Society. The organizations and their papers illustrate the increasingly common phenomenon of women’s endorsing the tradition of “woman’s sphere” while stretching its boundaries. An examination of the papers during the three years that the Anti-Polygamy Standard was published reveals how much the Mormon and non-Mormon women had in common.

Both papers grew out of organizations. The Anti-Polygamy Standard began as the official organ of the Ladies’ Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah, which five months later became the Woman’s National Anti-Polygamy Society. The Woman’s Exponent served as the official publication of the Mormon Relief Society. A major part of the papers’ content consisted of news about their parent organizations. The editors traveled extensively to start new branches and recruit new members. They reported on their journeys, reprinted
Masthead for the Anti-Polygamy Standard. The slogan reads, “Let every Man have his own Wife, and Let every Woman have her own Husband.—1 Cor. 7: 2.” This issue—volume 1, issue 1—was published April 1880 in Salt Lake City and sold for 10¢.

Masthead for the Woman’s Exponent. The slogan reads, “The Rights of the Women of Zion, and the Rights of the Women of all Nations.” This issue—volume 9, issue 1—was published June 1, 1880, in Salt Lake City.
speeches given by themselves or their traveling companions, and published minutes of meetings both local and distant.

Support for Sympathetic Organizations

The Exponent published minutes not only of the Relief Societies at general, stake, and ward levels, but also of other Mormon organizations in which its readers could be expected to have an interest. Activities of the Young Ladies’ and Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Associations, the Primary, and the Sunday School received frequent attention. Minutes of the board of the Deseret Hospital, established at the instigation of the Relief Society, also appeared. The Standard ran the constitution of the Anti-Polygamy Society in serial fashion on its front page and also offered instructions for groups wanting to start their own subsidiary societies.

The emphasis on organizations extended beyond those affiliated with the papers’ sponsoring groups. An 1881 Exponent note reported that Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson, a Mormon physician, would speak at a woman’s congress in Buffalo, New York, on the question, “Can Women Organize?” Her answer, of course, would be in the affirmative, and she would offer Mormon women’s organizations and projects as evidence. But both the Exponent and the Standard promoted the idea that women could—and should—organize to accomplish all sorts of worthy aims. In its first number, the Standard offered a history of the Blue Tea, a literary group organized in Salt Lake City in 1875, and commended young ladies of Washington, D.C., for forming a similar club. The Exponent encouraged support for the Unity Club, organized in 1882 to raise money for benevolent purposes, including the Deseret Hospital.

As one would expect, the Exponent paid a great deal of attention to religion, with the LDS Church as its indirect sponsor, and, in addition to organizational reports, it printed essays about topics such as faith, charity, and prayer and encouraged moral responsibility. In the Standard, reports of such events as the cornerstone laying for St. Paul’s Episcopal Chapel in 1880, news of travels of local clergymen, and the offering of a special combination subscription rate of $1.50 for the Standard and Christian Woman left no doubt of its approval of organized religion.
The *Standard* also gave considerable space to missionary and educational efforts of various Protestant churches in Utah. For example, the paper praised a proposal for a Presbyterian church and school in Logan and even offered to donate 25¢ toward construction for every new *Standard* subscription obtained through Presbyterian sources. Of course, the paper’s publishers were interested in more than the general advancement of religious life; they pointed out that every non-Mormon church or schoolhouse built in the territory would be a step toward the eradication of polygamy.\

**Beliefs about Home and Family**

While the papers differed in their applications of the religious principles both endorsed, their comments about the sanctity of home and family were almost interchangeable, and both offered home management advice. A “Housekeeper’s Corner” in the *Standard* described the Japanese method of cooking rice and explained how to wash clothes properly. The *Exponent*, too, ran recipes and helpful hints, telling readers how to care for house plants during the winter and what sorts of medicines they should have on hand. The papers often directed such hints specifically to mothers. As the *Standard* pointed out, “What the Republic needs is good mothers. . . . If we had better government in the homes, we should have better citizens and better government.”

Thus, both publications espoused a concept of woman’s sphere that gave the home priority even while they also encouraged moving outside it. An *Exponent* editorial called the words “husband, home, motherhood” the “most expressive of affection and happiness of any to be found in the English language.” As a prime argument against polygamy, the *Standard* cited its desecration of home and fireside, adding that this mode of marriage rendered “mutual confidence between husband and wife an utter impossibility.” Because of polygamy’s devastating effects on home and family, it seemed “right and meet” to *Standard* writers that “woman should be its most uncompromising opponent.”

Along with the primacy of home and family went the desirability of traditional womanly virtues. The *Standard* reprinted a claim from an unidentified source that a woman’s first duty was to be
a lady: “A man’s ideal is not wounded when a woman fails in worldly wisdom; but if in grace, in tact, in sentiment, in delicacy, in kindness, she would be found wanting, he receives an inward hurt.”\textsuperscript{14}

Even writers of articles that urged a wider sphere for women often stressed the compatibility of activity outside the home with the ideals of true womanhood. An \textit{Exponent} correspondent from Beaver, Utah, admitted that a “true woman” would never neglect her family to obtain public honor but maintained, “Woman is not losing sight of the object of her creation, when she steps forth to engage in pursuits and professions [sic] distinct and apart from home.” One of the Utah women who had studied medicine in Philadelphia pointed to her experience as evidence that “professional and domestic duties are not incompatible.”\textsuperscript{15}

The editors of the \textit{Standard} and the \textit{Exponent} exemplified what they advocated. Both Wells and Froiseth had five children and added their editorial careers to home responsibilities, but they had many other public concerns as well. Wells founded the Utah Woman’s Press Club and a literary organization called the Reapers’ Club. Froiseth started a group that became the Salt Lake Ladies’ Literary Club and belonged to the Poetry Society. Both wrote poetry and fiction in addition to the factual and opinion pieces published in their papers.

Froiseth collected material from the \textit{Standard} for a book titled \textit{The Women of Mormonism}\textsuperscript{16} and extended her antipolygamy efforts by working on a campaign to fund construction of a refuge for Mormon women and children who left polygamous relationships. Congress appropriated funds in 1886 and 1888 for an Industrial Christian Home of Utah, but few Latter-day Saints took advantage of it, and it eventually became a residential hotel.\textsuperscript{17} Froiseth also worked actively with the Orphan’s Home and Day Nursery, but perhaps her major effort was a home for the aged, which she saw to completion after finding a donor to bequeath funding for it.

Wells worked on Relief Society projects—wheat storage, the Deseret Hospital, a woman’s cooperative store, and silk production—and served as general president of the Relief Society from 1910 until her death in 1921. She also belonged to the Utah Woman’s Republican League and the Utah Society of Daughters of the Revolution and ran for the Utah legislature in 1871. In their lives, as well as
Emmeline B. Wells (1828–1921). Wells served as editor of the Woman’s Exponent from 1877 to 1914. Photograph by C. M. Bell. Courtesy Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
in their papers, these women worked toward societal reform, which they recognized as a fitting, even crucial, task for their sex.

**Importance of Education for Women**

The editors also agreed about the necessity of educational opportunities for women to aid them both as homemakers and as participants in community life. In a series titled “Woman as a Benefactress” that described women who had made substantial contributions toward the advancement of education, the *Standard* praised such activities as particularly appropriate for women: “We believe that woman’s sphere is the educational, in all its forms. . . . Everything man learns should have a worthy motive, everything he does a worthy aim. To inspire his soul with the love of the good and noble is woman’s province in her relations of wife, mother, sister and daughter.” 18

The *Standard* hailed the establishment of “mission schools” in Utah as an effective means of countering Mormon dominance of the territory’s educational system. “Knowledge is power and the want of it engenders weakness and subserviency,” an editorial stated. 19

The *Exponent* said nothing could be more important than the proper education of the young and hoped for a day when young women would study “physiology and anatomy, for their own improvement and the benefit of the next generation.” 20 Both papers carried news notes about educational accomplishments of women. They told of female students carrying off honors in philosophy, chemistry, and medicine at an eastern school and described the French system for educating women. 21 In its “Woman as Benefactress” series, the *Standard* in 1880 lauded women who had advanced education. The *Exponent* that same year hailed “Women of Genius” and the literary work of two American female poets, Alice and Phoebe Cary. 22

In addition to presenting positive role models, the papers carried other types of educational material. Articles like the *Standard*’s “Minerals of Utah” and the *Exponent*’s “The Powers of a Cyclone” broadened the horizons of women who had little access to such information. 23 Reports of political developments at local, state, and national levels also kept readers informed.
Education was crucial to cultural improvement, another advance that both Froiseth and Wells promoted. Much of the educational content of the papers consisted of articles with a cultural emphasis. Biographical sketches of literary and artistic notables and articles such as “The Art Galleries and Museums of Vienna” encouraged readers to consider such topics important. Both papers published several articles in 1881 about George Eliot, who had died the previous year, and both encouraged local literary and dramatic groups by reporting on their meetings and other activities. In its article about the history of the reading group Blue Tea, the Standard lamented, “Girls whose school-days were full of brilliant promise, too often drop their intellectual pursuits on the eve of their wedding.” But participation in weekly meetings allowed them to exchange domestic cares for “communion with the great thoughts of great souls.”

Another way to recognize and further the cultural interests of readers was to provide a place for publication of their literary efforts; both the Standard and the Exponent regularly used poetry and essays by their readers, with an occasional piece of short fiction or a longer fictional work spread over several issues. These often had a didactic purpose. The Standard’s serial, “A Heart History,” begun in April 1881, told the story of a suffering woman abandoned by a husband who took up polygamy, balancing the Exponent’s “Jesse Burns, or, Was It Fate?” which started in December 1880 and recounted the tale of an abandoned woman rescued by a kindly older gentleman who made her his plural wife.

Temperance Campaign

In addition to education and the promotion of cultural interests, both papers saw involvement in the temperance movement, which was attracting widespread attention at the time, as an acceptable application of women’s natural aptitudes. For the Exponent, acceptance of temperance came almost as a matter of course, for the Word of Wisdom advised Mormons to avoid strong drink—interpreted to include anything alcoholic. An editorial summed up the paper’s position: “Every woman who has the interest of mankind...
CHARITY FOR THE FALLEN.

"Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more."

How forcibly do these simple words of Jesus portray his charity for a fallen woman; but how different the charity of men and women professing the same religion! When a woman falls a victim to man's evil persuasions, it is the custom among all Christian people to look upon her as a thing beneath their notice, except if be to point the finger of scorn at and call vile names; and yet, if we possessed one spark of the charity of Jesus, the worst accusation that we would feel justified in making is, that she was very weak; and in many instances, could we know all the circumstances and realize the power of the tempter, and the arts and devices used to deceive and lead astray, and how long the women of Utah have been menaced by the betrayer who has pursued his victim, our censure might be turned to admiration for the strength that resisted so long. But we only see the fall; God alone sees the conflict, and He only is competent to judge; He alone knows how to draw the line between wilful sin and the temptations too strong for our resistance. Were we permitted to read one chapter in the pre-natal existence of many persons, and know the traits of character bequeathed to them by their parents;

WHAT WOMEN THINK.

I have been thinking of the Exponent, and wondering why more of our sisters (I should say all of them) do not take it. Surely it is of some importance that the women of Utah should be properly represented; we certainly have misrepresentation enough. The cry has been, the down-trodden woman of Utah. This same cry of oppression is made an excuse for all kinds of newspaper abuse, and a pretext for interference in our public and domestic institutions; indeed, they would have the world believe us the most degraded and neglected beings of all God's creation. Now, we know this is not so; we enjoy full as much liberty as they do, and a great deal more, with all their boasted civilization. We do not need their sympathy nor their interference in our behalf. We enjoy all the rights that are accorded to our sex anywhere, and know as well how to use them as any of our compatriots in the Eastern cities would. Indeed, we have gained more before they kindly introduced so much of their vaunted civilization into our midst. The day

WOMEN AND TEMPERANCE.

EDITOR EXPOSANT:—In the last number of your valuable paper, the ruling of the Judge of the Supreme Court in regard to the liquor question was referred to, and it was suggested that every woman who has the welfare of mankind at heart should protest against it. I endorse the sentiment with all my heart. It is my earnest conviction, however, that women many times bring untold misery upon themselves and their offspring by indulging in spirituous liquors in various forms at certain times in their lives, thus creating an appetite for strong drink in their children before their birth, which will be a withering curse to them all their life long.

I have heard some women say they could not do without liquor at certain times, which, however, with my past experience I do not believe. To illustrate my belief I will relate an incident in my own life. My first child was born in the winter of '48, at Winter Quarters, and in the opinion of all my friends, I was very near unto death; and I wish to state emphatically in this connection that I was not snatched from an untimely grave by the use of alcoholic stimulants in any form, but by the power of God through the faith of the sisters who had met at Brother Heber C. Kimball's

THE INFLUENCE OF HOME.

Good, bad or indifferent characters are molded at home, and polished abroad. The more perfect the mold the more valuable the casting. The more careful the polish the more lasting the article. I will attempt to apply the above figure of speech to the molding and permanency of the human character. The cheerful family circle, radiant with smiles, suggestive of pure motives, appreciative of one another, are essential in framing minds that prefer to make home the place in which to spend their leisure time. The welcome "Good night" brother, or, "Good night" sister, in retiring; or the "How I enjoyed that reading," "the game you proposed," or similar sayings are intended to bind children and parents with inseparable ties that ever find them preferring home affection to the cold formalities of the outer world. If there is one place more like heaven than another, it is a bright, sunny home; where love is the ruling element, and where each one's aim is to promote the happiness of the other members of the family.

Paragraphs from the Woman’s Exponent. These paragraphs reveal the Mormon editor's concerns with women's issues, community issues, the family, and polygamy. (Woman’s Exponent, June 1, 1880, 1; and February 1, 1882, 135).
THE TEMPERANCE REVIVAL.

The importance of the Reform movement inaugurated in this city by Dr. McKenzie, can scarcely be appreciated unless the need for just such a revival is taken into consideration and measured too. In all probability there is no city in the United States that has more drinking saloons than Salt Lake, in accordance with the number of its population, and when it is considered that the liquor license is ten times as high as in other cities, it must certainly go to prove that an immense amount of patronage is bestowed on these places. We are reliably informed that there are certain saloons which are infested on Saturday afternoons with working men, where they often spend the earnings of a week in wild carousal, then go home penniless; the wages which should have gone to the support of wife and children, having been left in the dram shop. It is also stated that the number of boys and youths who frequent these haunts is very large, thus showing that intemperance is alarmingly on the increase in our midst. There may be worse crimes than intemperance, but in ninety nine cases out of a hundred, intemperance is the path that leads to these

OUR POLICY.

Since the publication of the Anti-Polygamy Standard has been determined upon, the questions have been asked repeatedly, "what attitude do you purpose to assume in regard to Mormon women? Do you intend to prosecute a war against all Mormon women, or all those who believe in, or practice the doctrine of plural marriage? And this class who do believe in it as a religious principle—and there are many such—are you going to hold them up to the scorn and contempt of the women of America?"

What Polygamy Has Done for Women.

I have been request'd by some of the ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society to tell how I became a polygamous wife, and why I continued living in that unlawful relation, when I did not believe in the institution as a divine ordinance, and hated the system with my whole soul. My story is not an uncommon one, and can easily find many a parallel in the history of Mormonism.

I was born in England, and belonged to a respectable family of the middle class. My father was a successful tradesman, and being an only child, the best educational advantages were afforded me; in fact, I received what is termed in that country, a finished education. When I was about sixteen years old, my parents became converts to Mormonism, and as I had always been religiously inclined, and the Mormon doctrines as there preached seemed to me so simple and beautiful and good, it was not long before I became an enthusiastic votary of the new religion. I had heard that the Saints in America practiced polygamy, but did not trouble myself about it, as I did not anticipate leaving my own country; besides, the missionaries

Paragraphs from the Anti-Polygamy Standard. In these examples can be seen the significance the Ladies' Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah placed not only on their antipolygamy campaign, but also on other community issues. (Anti-Polygamy Standard, April 1880, 4.)
at heart, who possesses a latent spark of divinity within her soul, should exert her utmost influence for the suppression of intemperance." A letter received in response to this editorial went even further by maintaining that women should never drink, even in childbirth, or marry drinking men.27

The *Standard*, too, joined women’s publications and organizations across the country in campaigning for temperance. It complained about the excessive number of saloons in Salt Lake City, praised the local Reform Club, and, while admitting the possibility that there might be worse crimes than intemperance, went on to point out that “in ninety nine cases out of a hundred, intemperance is the path that leads to these greater evils.”28 The paper also encouraged contributions to a fund honoring “Mrs. President Hayes” that would be used to print temperance literature and arranged for reduced rates on a combination subscription to the *Standard* and *Our Union*, the organ of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union.29

**The Polygamy Question**

Their common ideas about the obligation of women to improve personal and community morality, however, led the papers into vigorous campaigns on opposite sides of the question of polygamy. The *Standard* was born of its founders’ zeal for elimination of what they saw as a perverse and wicked system of marriage. They urged readers to overcome their “false delicacy” and get involved in the battle. Even in castigating polygamy, however, the paper’s writers took care to express womanly compassion for its victims: “We start out with good intentions, with pure motives, with kind feelings, and with hatred and contempt only for the sin, and not for the sinner.”30

All of the *Standard*’s most common arguments against polygamy can be traced to a desire to elevate the moral level of society:31

1. Not only was polygamy against the laws of the country, it was against the laws of God. Mormon polygamy was not comparable to biblical polygamy, writers claimed, and even in the Bible its fruits were discord and violence.32

2. It was contrary to the womanly sentiments of purity and goodness. The paper used “The Beauties of Polygamy” as a
cynical title for a continuing series begun in September 1880 that presented story after story intended to depict the practice as ugly.

3. It was productive of misery and wickedness. One writer told of a young man who had been evil from birth and attributed this to the influence of his mother’s wicked thoughts while she was pregnant with him; she had been consumed with the desire to murder her husband’s new wife.35

4. It was a degrading type of bondage for the women and children involved. Although the Standard did not name names, it alleged that even many Mormons admitted that “numbers of the men only enter it for the purpose of pandering to their own base passions, and have no religious convictions whatever.”34

5. It led to economic suffering, because men often took more wives than they could support or abandoned less favored wives and their families.35

6. It produced children who were inferior physically, mentally, and morally. Children of polygamous marriages grew up “entirely lacking in that simplicity and innocence which is an attribute of childhood almost the world over,” developing “depraved tastes from infancy,” according to one article.36

Exponent counterclaims mirrored the Standard’s charges by insisting that polygamy not only elevated moral standards within the Church but could be the moral salvation of society as a whole. Some frequently used defenses follow:

1. Although polygamy had been undermined by men’s unjust laws, it remained a divine mandate with biblical precedent, a condition of the Abrahamic covenant.37

2. Not only did it reinforce the womanly sentiments of purity and generosity, but it developed strength and self-reliance.38

3. It produced happiness and virtue. As a prominent Mormon woman put it in a serial autobiography, “A life in the plural
or celestial order of matrimony is a much happier one than to live in the uncertainty and jeopardy that thousands of the women of the world are in, and suffer its attendant evils."³⁹

4. It actually freed women from burdensome physical and emotional demands. In fact, women absolutely required "certain periods of continence" not needed by men, according to Dr. Romania B. Pratt, a Mormon physician. And plural marriage not only would improve their health but would bring an end to "abortions, foeticides, infanticides, seductions, rapes and divorces."⁴⁰

5. Its emphasis on cooperative effort led to economic benefits for those involved. In addition, Utah law, passed by Mormons, made it possible for married women actually to hold property in their own names.⁴¹

6. It developed happy, healthy, and unselfish children. An editorial claimed that through the system of marriage "the world so loudly condemns" there had grown up "a race of the most perfectly developed young men and women any country can produce."⁴²

In line with their insistence on the capabilities and responsibilities of women, both the Standard and the Exponent used first-person accounts to support their positions on polygamy, although the Standard's correspondents often remained anonymous. The first issue of the Standard assured readers that its articles would be written "or the facts furnished by women who have had personal experience in the system, and consequently may be relied upon as true in every particular."⁴³ As the Exponent's eighth year of publication came to a close, an editorial expressed pride in the opportunity it had offered Mormon women to share their views and feelings "in a simple and untrammelled manner that could not fail to give evidence of their liberty of thought and action, and their religious sincerity." It added, "They have also told the story of their own hardships and persecutions suffered in consequence of the bigotry and superstition that is always opposed to the dawn of new light."⁴⁴

In order to translate their support of or opposition to polygamy into legislation, as well as to achieve other social goals, women had
to enter the arena of politics, and both publications encouraged them to do just that. The *Standard* campaigned for Utah’s Liberal Party, urging readers to register and vote, and published reports of Liberal Party meetings. Americans could blame only themselves for the continued existence of plural marriage, one editorial stated; citizens must rise up to elect a congress that would stamp it out. The *Exponent* spoke out for the People’s Party and urged registration and voting in its behalf. Both papers also informed readers of developments in the polygamy battles at the federal and state levels and reprinted comments by government officials who favored their respective positions.

One issue that occupied a great deal of space in both the *Standard* and the *Exponent* during 1881 was the disagreement over seating Mormon leader and polygamist George Q. Cannon in the U.S. Congress, to which he was elected in 1880. Delegations and memorials spoke for and against Cannon, and the papers reported them, as well as expressing their positions in impassioned editorials. Cannon lost the seat in 1882 after passage of the Edmunds Bill. This bill, a federal measure prohibiting polygamists from voting or holding office and making plural marriage a crime, also attracted much attention in the papers. The *Exponent* lamented the bill’s passage; the *Standard* celebrated it but not wholeheartedly, for it could and should have been stronger, the paper’s writers suggested.

**Woman Suffrage**

The *Exponent* always came down firmly on the side of woman suffrage, which the antipolygamy legislation threatened. Utah women had been given the vote in 1870, just three months after Wyoming became the first state to enfranchise women, and they voted regularly until enactment of the Edmunds Bill took voting rights away from those in plural marriages. *Exponent* readers received encouragement to use the vote during the years when they legally could, plus reports of meetings and activities of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the travels and speeches of national suffrage leaders. Editor Wells attended several national conventions. As the threat to woman suffrage in Utah intensified, the
paper published more and more defenses. One issue reprinted Sojourner Truth’s celebrated “Ain’t I a Woman?” speech.48

Many arguments emphasized the positive contributions voting women could make to society. For example, one article pointed out that a well-organized kingdom required the participation of both men and women and went on to ask all women to become familiar with the law and then raise their voices to abolish provisions that sustained “grog-shops and billiard saloons,” which made drunkards of their husbands, sons, and brothers and encouraged “houses of ill fame.” Another writer recognized women as generally superior to men in level of spirituality and asked, “If this is correct shall the better element be politically subservient to the worse?”49

It might seem that the Standard, with its insistence on women’s participation in societal reform, would also support suffrage. But if Mormon women voted, they could help maintain the influence of the Church—and polygamy. Getting rid of plural marriage was the Standard’s first priority, and to the antipolygamist this meant abolishing woman suffrage in Utah.

The Standard claimed that Mormon men gave women the vote illegally only after non-Mormons began to move into Utah and that the women had voted as the Church directed ever since. “Suffrage, as it exists in Utah, is an entirely different matter from what the suffragists in the East are working for,” one article pointed out. “There it represents a principle, here it was established to place greater power in the hands of the men, and instead of representing the sentiments of women, it is only a reflex of the opinions of the priesthood.”50 With such arguments, the Standard tried to persuade national suffrage association leaders who had supported Mormon women’s right to vote to change their minds. Of course, the paper wanted polygamous men to be denied the ballot as well.51

Although bitterly opposed on the issue of polygamy and hence on the question of voting rights for Mormon women, the editors of both papers saw themselves and their publications as defenders and promoters of women’s rights. The Anti-Polygamy Society evolved into the Utah Association for the Advancement of Women, with Froiseth continuing to take a leading role.
Whether disagreeing about polygamy or crusading for temperance, education, and political participation, the Standard and the Exponent not only used similar arguments but based those arguments on a shared perception of woman’s role. Their diametrically opposed positions on plural marriage grew from assumptions inherent in Victorian ideas of what true womanhood entailed. The title of a 1974 article, “Diamond Cut Diamond,” came from an 1878 speech indicating that even some Mormon women recognized similarities between themselves and their foes. “The women of this country want to crush us, but it will be diamond cut diamond,” the speaker said. Although a major part of what they had in common was the idea, espoused by both, that woman’s place is in the home, the Mormon women and their antagonists in the Ladies’ Anti-Polygamy Society also shared the experience of moving outside the home to campaign for their views of what home and family life should be. With other American women, they found in society’s view of their proper sphere justification for expanding that sphere.

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NOTES

2 This paper follows standard nineteenth-century and Mormon usage in employing the terms polygamy and plural marriage to refer to the practice of allowing a husband to take more than one wife. The more correct term for this system is polygyny.
3 Advertisement, Salt Lake Daily Herald, April 9, 1872, 3.
4 “Home Affairs,” Woman’s Exponent, October 15, 1881, 78.
5 C. P., “The Blue Tea,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, April 1880, 2; and “For, and about Women,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, April 1880, 3.
6 “Editorial Notes,” Woman’s Exponent, December 1, 1882, 100.
8 “To the Members of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, June 1880, 20.
“The Family Doctor-Shop,” Woman’s Exponent, April 1, 1882, 167-68; and “Winter House Plants,” Woman’s Exponent, October 15, 1882, 73.


“Husband, Home, Motherhood,” Woman’s Exponent, April 1, 1881, 164.


Woman as a Benefactress,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, September 1880, 42.

“Education in Utah,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, June 1880, 17.

Education of the Young,” Woman’s Exponent, May 1, 1880, 180; and “Women Doctors,” Woman’s Exponent, July 15, 1882, 28.

For, and about Women,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, October 1880, 54; and “Woman’s Education in France,” Woman’s Exponent, April 15, 1880, 176.


“Minerals of Utah,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, April 1880, 8; and “The Powers of a Cyclone,” Woman’s Exponent, May 1, 1880, 178.

“The Art Galleries and Museums of Vienna,” Woman’s Exponent, March 1, 1883, 145.

See, for example, “George Eliot’s Influence,” Woman’s Exponent, February 1, 1881, 134–35; and “George Eliot,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, July 1881, 25.


“Temperance Testimonial to Mrs. President Hayes,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, December 1880, 67; and untitled note, Anti-Polygamy Standard, April 1881, 1.


The papers reiterated the arguments listed in many forms. Representative statements of each are cited.


“The Effects of Polygamy,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, September 1880, 41.

“Characteristics of Mormon Polygamy, No. IV,” Anti-Polygamy Standard, February 1881, 82.

“Characteristics of Mormon Polygamy, No. IV,” 82.

“Mormonism Will Live,” Woman’s Exponent, March 15, 1881, 156.

“What They Say about Utah,” Woman’s Exponent, June 15, 1881, 12.


“Extract from Dr. R. B. Pratt’s Lecture,” Woman’s Exponent, June 15, 1881, 16.

Lu Dalton, “Reply to Emily Scott,” Woman’s Exponent, March 1, 1882, 151-52.

“What They Say about Utah,” 12.

Untitled note, April 1880, 1.

“Our Little Paper,” Woman’s Exponent, May 15, 1880, 188.


“An Appeal to Women Voters,” Woman’s Exponent, September 1, 1880, 52.

“Sojourner Truth,” Woman’s Exponent, August 1, 1881, 35.


Kathleen Marquis, “‘Diamond Cut Diamond’: Mormon Women and the Cult of Domesticity in the Nineteenth Century,” University of Michigan Papers in Women’s Studies 2, no. 2 (1974), 105. This paper examines the polygamy conflict, recognizing the common values of supporters and opponents.
**Flower Basket Appliqué Quilt**, Ann Kar (b. before 1819), Illinois, before 1840. Fabric hand woven and hand dyed. In 1819 the Kar family settled in Illinois, where a daughter, Ann, made this quilt. Eventually the quilt was passed down to great-great-niece, Bessie Geyer. Bessie, not a member of the Church, was living in Fort Madison, Iowa, near the town of Carthage. She visited the Carthage Jail in 1954 and was so impressed with her experience that she donated this family heirloom to help furnish a bedroom in the jail.

For appliquéd quilts, nineteenth-century women reserved their best quilting skills and greatest energy. Requiring a large piece of cloth, usually white, appliquéd quilts were quite expensive to make because they could not be made with small scraps. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
The Document Corner: Jesse Smith’s 1814 Protest

Recently donated to the Church, this document yields new insights into the religious climate in Joseph Smith’s extended family and into the personality of his unbending uncle.

John W. Welch

The following document has been handed down from generation to generation among the descendants of Silas Sanford Smith, brother to Jesse Smith (1768–1853), the eldest brother of Joseph Smith, Sr. This document, donated recently to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by George Smith Dibble, provides several new and interesting insights into the character of Jesse Smith as well as perspectives on the religious background of this member of the extended family of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Regarding the provenance of this document, George Smith Dibble (who is a direct descendant of Silas Smith and who is also related to Mary Duty through Cleone Atwood Dibble’s direct ancestor William Stickney) received this document from his mother, Emma Jane Smith, who, it is believed, received it from her mother, Martha Eliza Bennett Smith, who was Silas Smith’s wife. One assumes that she received it from her husband, but it is unknown how he would have obtained the document.

This manuscript illustrates the independence of Asael Smith’s family. Mary Duty and Asael Smith, the paternal grandparents of Joseph Smith, were strong-willed individuals who stood by their convictions. Their first son, Jesse, states in this document that he stood alone as the only one opposed to an action taken in 1813 by the presbyterian congregation to which he belonged.1 Being the eldest, Jesse naturally commanded considerable respect from his siblings, and his 1814 certificate is powerful evidence of his skillful ability to state his opinions forcefully.

BYU Studies 33, no. 1 (1993)
Jesse's controversy with his fellow church members arose over a set of resolutions they had adopted on June 5, 1813, voting to return to congregational autonomy and to employ Jacob Allen, a Congregationalist, as their minister. In the process, Jesse objected, they had “assume[d] the right to bind and loose” and had dissolved “the government and diicline [sic] of the [central] church.” In addition, they had rejected “the idea of infant or minor membership.” Although Jesse had once been a Universalist, he firmly espoused presbyterian views here and later in his life.

He objected to these resolutions primarily on scriptural grounds. For example, in Jesus' blessing of the children, Jesse found evidence that all family members should be allowed to partake of the blessings of the church directly. He recoiled at the idea of membership in a church congregation where his entire family could not participate. It is unclear, however, exactly what steps had been taken in this regard by the majority of Jesse’s parish or what issues were actually in controversy, but it appears that the so-called halfway covenant defining the membership status of children stood at the root of the problem.

Jesse also found in the New Testament clear evidence that church authority “to bind or loose, to make laws or administer government or discipline” or “to transfer this power to others by the Imposition of their hands” was given only to the apostles and elders; authority could not be reconstituted in a mere determination of “the body of the church.” Jesse cited the apostolic council in Acts 15 and the procedures of Deuteronomy 17 as examples that a representative body of central church leaders “having jurisdiction over lesser bodies” had exclusive authority to decide issues of church governance, such as the adoption of the local resolutions to which Jesse objected. Accordingly, Jesse rejected the action taken by these local citizens because they were acting outside the “mode of government” authorized for the church by Jesus Christ.

Unfortunately, the document itself contains no explicit statements about the immediate circumstances that finally provoked Jesse Smith, on November 18, 1814, to memorialize his religious convictions and reasons for disagreeing with his presbyterian brethren in Tunbridge. For seventeen months, he had hoped for a change, but at length “imperious necessity” compelled him to action. Perhaps his position had been misunderstood or misrepresented.
in the congregation; he had probably been subjected to social criticism; he was eventually excommunicated.5

Ultimately, Jesse objected to the involvement of state law in church government. The articles of agreement that legally organized the local congregation in Tunbridge were constituted under the laws of the state of Vermont, particularly under a law entitled An Act for the Support of the Gospel.6 This law and these articles gave the local populace considerable control over “every attempt of the church to call and settle a minister.” Moreover, these legal instruments allowed local courts to foreclose on a person’s “houses or lands or both as surety” for the collection of any salaries owed to a minister of the gospel. Thus, it seems likely that someone was trying to compel him to pay his legal share toward the support of Jacob Allen, the minister whose hiring he had opposed, and that, in addition to stating his religious convictions, Jesse was following the procedure outlined in Vermont law to claim exemption from that local assessment.7

In 1783 the general assembly of Vermont had passed a law enabling towns and parishes to build churches and to provide for the support of ministers of the gospel. By a majority vote, a town or parish could levy a tax sufficient to cover the costs of hiring a minister, “to be assessed on the Polls and rateable Estates of Persons Living, or Estates lying, within the Limits of such Town or Parish.”8 In addition, the statute recognized that many people within the town or parish might be of different sentiments in respect to their religious duties, “whose conscience this act is not to control: and likewise some, perhaps, who pretend to differ from the Majority with a Design only to escape Taxation.” Therefore, the act provided that a person who belonged to a different church could dissent from the majority view and be exempt from the tax, but only if “he, she, or they, shall bring a Certificate, signed by some Minister of the Gospel, Deacon, or Elder, or the Moderator in the Church or Congregation to which he, she or they, pretend to belong, being of a different Persuasion.”9

In 1787 a law entitled An Act for Supporting Ministers of the Gospel restated the 1783 law and required simply that the “certificate shall make known the party to be of the religious sentiments of the signer thereof.”10 In 1801 the Act for the Support of the Gospel was amended further to provide that if any person, acting alone, “who was either in the minority of said vote, or who was not at the meeting,
at the time of passing such vote, . . . shall have liberty to enter his dissent, in writing, on the records of the town or parish, as aforesaid, and on paying up all taxes and assessments until that time, and for the whole of the year in which such dissent is made, shall forever thereafter be released from any further taxation, for the support of such minister.”

Although the law of 1801 did not expressly require the townsperson to state any particular religious grounds for his dissent, Jesse Smith’s statement followed the earlier convention, setting forth his beliefs, in good faith, and making known his religious sentiments with respect to the entire issue. Accordingly, his first point was to establish that he “never did agree to any such thing,” and his last petition quoted the Psalms with legal significance, “O God, plead thine own cause; O let not the oppressed return ashamed” (Ps. 74:21–22). Indeed, this document was used for legal purposes, for a copy of it was written into the Tunbridge town records.

Jesse declared himself unable to continue in fellowship with the church so long as the offending resolutions remained in force. Nevertheless, he went out of his way in the end to affirm his open-mindedness, his eagerness to be convinced otherwise should he be in error, his willingness to assume personal responsibility for any public harm he might have caused by any such error, and his goodwill toward his opposers.

In several ways, this document is part of the background for the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It illustrates the intensity of religious debates and study occurring during the period shortly before the youthful Joseph Smith entered the grove where he received his first vision. Jesse examines doctrinal issues with a remarkable scriptural facility. He quotes the Bible extensively, accurately, and readily; and he has given considerable thought to the practical implications of several passages in the Bible. For example, he realized the importance of apostles and elders, of conferring authority by the laying on of hands, and of the applicability of divine instructions in the Old Testament even in the new age under Christ.

The Smiths were very family oriented, as this certificate confirms. Jesse insisted, on scriptural authority, that admitting a man to the privileges of the church required also the admission of all or any of his household. He objected to membership in any society
“where my family could not partake of the benefit directly.” This document also shows that Jesse was articulate and literate. The handwriting, the spelling, the vocabulary, and the literary style are the product of a literate individual.

The document also portrays Jesse Smith as a God-fearing, religious man, not satisfied with the events in his church. He questioned unauthorized church acts and hoped that his church brethren would return to the “former vows” they had made, which he understood to be more in harmony with the practices of the New Testament church, or that, if change was in order, God would spiritually confirm the decision of his congregation.

This text also gives valuable information about the character of Jesse Smith. In 1857, George A. Smith, a cousin of the Prophet Joseph Smith, delivered a speech about the family of Asael Smith, their common grandfather. George remembered his uncle Jesse as “a man of good education, and had considerable display”; he was “a religious man—‘a Covenanter’ . . . who came out with all his strength against [the Book of Mormon], and exerted the most cruel tyranny over his family, prohibited my uncle Joseph [Smith, Sr.,] from talking in his house, and threatened to hew down with his broad axe any who dared to preach such nonsense in his presence.” But the young George got the best of his uncle, who boasted, “The Devil never shut my mouth,” to which George quipped, “Perhaps he opened it, uncle,” abruptly ending their conversation. In 1830, when Joseph Smith, Sr., visited his parents and brothers in Stockholm, New York, John Smith’s journal describes Jesse’s anger, harshness, and insulting abusiveness toward any mention of the Book of Mormon, but also his melting into tears when the brothers parted and Joseph, Sr., pleaded with Jesse to repent. By 1836, when Jesse ordered his two missionary brothers not to talk “about the Bible in his house at all unless it was upon [the Calvinistic doctrine of] limited election,” it was clear that he would never again change religions. Unlike his brothers Joseph, Asael Jr., Silas, and John, Jesse Smith never joined the Church. His adamant opposition to the Book of Mormon was in character with his sole and vigorous dissent against the otherwise unanimous decision of his neighbors in Tunbridge.

Accordingly, this document indicates that Jesse was not “always opposed to every form of religion,” but that he shared some of his
father's "desire to test all religious opinions by the holy scriptures and sound reason."
17 It also, however, shows him consistently to be very conservative in his presbyterian views, "entrenched in Calvinistic theology."
18 To be sure, he was determined and uncompromising in his religious and legal views, but at least here, in 1814, he also shows himself to be deeply committed to the scriptures and claims willingness to change his stance if shown to be wrong.

On the 30th of July 1809 I was admitted to the fellowship and Communion of the Ch[urc]h in this Town organised and officered with ruling elders in Presbyterian form, but destitute of a stated Gospel ministry: we had a teaching Elder who was by profession a presbyterian having charge of a congregational Church in this vicinity whose steadfast belief and uniform declaration was that Presbyterian church government and decipline was (in his opinion) the only form recognized in scripture. The Church having no teaching Priest was not united to any particular Presbytery[,] being but few in number I believe all expected to make slow progress, but as far as I understood anything of the matter no one thot of going back or returning like the dog to his vomit or like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire. 19 For we are assured that no one putting his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the kingdom of heaven 20 undoubtedly meaning the Church. It was also understood that every baptised child was a member of the church and thus acknowledged by by [sic] receiving the seal of the covenant which ordinance[,] say the Assembly of divines[,] doth signify and seal our ingrafting into Christ and our engagement to be the Lords; this is true otherwise I know of no meaning to the com^mand the Lord is said to have given concerning the poor debtor who owed ten thousand talents (viz) that he his wife and children of all that he had should be sold and payment should be made. 21 . . . . . . . Thus encouraged by the prospect that I and mine might walk in the light of the church be ruled and diciplined by men in
the vineyard of the Lord elected for the purpose set apart and qualified for the office and they with him who should labor in word and doctrine if God should favor us with a wat[c]hman on this part of the wall together with the whole body of the church each in their station should come forward with mutual endeavor for the instruction of our children in the ways of thrut[h] and righteousness teaching them to mind the same things for the edification of themselves and others and of building them up in the most holy faith according to those precepts (and those only) which are laid down in that gospel thro which life and immortality are brot to light. . . . This appeared to me and still does appear like building again the Tabernacle of David together with the ruins thereof that the residue of men might seek the Lord. 22 . . . . These are some of my reasons for joining the church and such was the Ch[urch]h when I did join it. . I came forward I trust under the Influence of the Holy Ghost[,] I still hope I did not trust in a vain thing, the vanity of the Gentiles or an arm of flesh but I think I had and still have some reason to believe that my cheif hope and dependance was and is on him who inhabits the praises of Israel before whom the nations are counted as the small dust of the bal-lance [sic] and who taketh up the Isles as very little thing. Lebanon is not sufficient to burn nor the beasts thereof for a burnt offering. 23 . . before whom all nations are counted as nothing yea less than nothing and vanity. 24 . . . . Notwithstanding my remaining corruptions which at times seem to be carrying me away as with a whirlwind[,] my motives were good[,] my object was and is to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. 25 . . . The church remained in this situation till the memorable 5th of June 1813 about which time Mr Jacob Allen appeared as a candidate for the ministry of the congregational order so called, the members of the church generally esteemed the man and finally sett[l]ed him as their minister . . . . . but as a preliminary the then government and discipline of the church must be abolished[,] for it seems the
man was honest he would not act contrary to his own understanding of the scripture as he had been taught . . . at this time the members of the church in general meeting for the purpose did[,] to my astonishment and in opposition to all I could say or do[,] as^sume the right to bind and loose[,] passed a decree dissolving the government and discipline of the church together with the Idea of infant or minor membership and to my understanding the church also . . . I was then in the minority with only one ^other person who has sinse gone with the multitude so far as to attend for the present on the ministry and the ordinances . . . I now stand alone the only opposer to the decree and the maner of passing the same . . I have waited more than 17 months hoping and praying that the church would return to their former vows as I understood them or that God ^would open the eyes of my understanding so as to see them in the right if they were so . . but neither of these have as yet come to pass and the time has arrived when imperious necessity compells me to enter solemnly my protest against this unprecedented act of the church in decreeing its own disolution as I understand the mea- sure . . . I now therefore declare in presense of these men whom I have considered as my brethren who were mine acquaintance with whom I took sweet council and with whom I walked to the house of God in company feeling willing to appeal to that God who trieth the reins and searches the hearts of the children of men. for the purity of my motives. that I cannot (with grief do I reflect on the causes that have led to this) in consience subscribe to this decree or consider myself bound by this act of the church of the said 5th of June[,] neither can I fellow- ship the church while under the guidance of this decree and the subseqent proceedings arising therefrom so as statedly or occasionally to commute with them in the ordi- nance of the Lords super [sic] [or] attend on the ministry supported in the ^present form . . . for the following rea- sons 1st I never did agree to any such thing . . 2nd I cannot find in the scriptures any precepts or example for admitting
a man to the priviliges of the church and [ex]cluding all or any of his houshold[.] our Lord said suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven 27 meaning the church. he took them up in his arms put his hands upon them and blessed them. I never had a serious wish to become a member of the church or any other society where my family could not partake of the benefit directly. 30 because I find no warrent in the scripture for the church collectively to make laws or decrees to bind any either themselves or others. the great head of the church gave to his Apostles the keyes of the kingdom of heaven 28 or church . and to no other[.] he authorized them to bind & loose ^& to transfer this power to others by the Imposition of their hands & says upon this rock will I build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it[,] 29 meaning by the rock I believe the mode of government. I do not believe that Jesus Christ in any instance has authorized the whole body of the church to bind or loose to make laws or administer goverment or discipline[.] the church is called the kingdom of heaven and a kingdom cannot exist according to the common aceptation of the term without rulers and ruled[,] kings and subjects. The first disp^utation which arose in the christain church in the Apostolic age was not determined by the members or brotherhood, but Paul & Silas and certain others went up to Jerusalem unto Apostles and elders about this question. 30 this I understand was a representative body when convened having jurisdiction over lesser bodies. this was not an advisory council[,] there is there no advice offered. but they utter their sentence and the assembly agree to lay no grater burden than these neccessary things &c 31 [(])^this burden these rulers did lay & bind upon the subjects of the kingdom[)] in what country Soever they might reside[.] this mode of procedure was in strict conformity to the plain command of God in the 17th chapter of Deuteronmy. If there arise a matter too hard for the[e] in Judgement between blood and blood between plea and plea and between stroke and
stroke being matters of controversy within thy gates. then shalt thou arise and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shalt choose and thou shalt come unto the p[r]eists the Levites and unto the judge that should be in those days and enquire and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment and thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place which the Lord shall choose shalt show thee and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform the[e] according to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee and according to the judgment which they shall tell the[e] thou shalt do thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew the[e] to the right hand or to the left. I am aware some will say this was in another age and a new order of things have succeeded[.] I reply we have the same Lawgiver under the new as under the old dispensation. I state also that this command has never been repealed again I understand Jerusalem to be the only place God had at that time made known as the place of his chosen for the seat of Judgment and it seems the Apostles and elders together with a representation of the whole church thought of going to no other place for a decision about this controversy between plea and plea. much scripture I believe might be brot in support of this mode of procedure but I am not allowed to be lengthy-. my 4th and last re[a]son for absenting myself from the church is the manner of settling and supporting the minister[.] I am not able to learn from ^the scriptures of the old and new testament that the church of Christ in any age of the world had any right to form any connection with those without concerning the calling settling suporting or dismissing their pastor or teacher but in looking over the gro^und work of the call settlement and support of the minister & also provision for his dismision if need be[.] I do find the whole predicated upon a legislative act of the state of Vermont which by the authority of the s[aid] state is declared to be an act entitled an act for the support
of the Gospel[.]33 here are articles of agreement called the constitution of the first congregational or Presbyterian church and society in Tunbridge[.] these articles are fourteen in number signed if I mistake not by nearly all the male members of the church and a number of others & declared to be binding on them and those who shall come after them except the eighth article . . . . In these articles there is pointed out and defined the right of the church and the collateral rights of the society or those without as relates to the call settlement and support of the minister so long as he lives or till he is dismissed in the transaction of all this business[,] the people without the church by these articles of agreement or this constitution have in their power if they please to defeat every attempt of the church to call and settle a minister[,] there is no higher authority quoted in all or any of these articles than that of the ^state of Vermont[,] there is not a single expression in this whole instrument which is copied from the word of God or anything which alludes to divine revelation[,] there is no law recognized for the collection even among the [Saints for] the support of the ministry but the political code of our country which is [ever varying its course and object.] The church or as many of them and others as have signed this instrument have bound themselves to mortgage their houses or lands or both as security for the fulfillment of their contracts with the minister and one another which mortgage is liable to foreclosure by order of a political court of Judicature at any time on the failure of the mortgagor to pay the interest of the money he has funded . . . . Therefore considering as I do this constitution as it is called to be[,] to say the least[,] not in conformity to the word of God I must I am constrained to protest against the measure in all its bearings[,] I cannot I dare not proceed on this ground, the consequences to myself and family notwithstanding I fear God and not man and wish to worship him in the beauty of holiness and in conformity to his own appointment[,] I cannot subscribe
to this mode of procedure. I must now commit my character to the mercy of that God who knows my motives & to the impartial judgement of the church so far as it by them may be known at the period when the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High.

Arise O God plead thine own cause O let not the oppressed return ashamed let the poor and needy praise thy name blessed be the Lord God the God of Isreal who only doth wondrous things and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. I now subscribe this my protest with some reasons which have operated to [produce it, with mine own hand] and in presence of the Lord of all the earth promising his grace assisting, that if ever I should be convinced that I ought not to have done this thing, I will use of all the means which may then be in my power to retract and that in the most suitable public manner if I continue to think I am right I feel a determination to use my best endeavor to bring the church back to a sense of their duty and to this purpose I mean to employ my influence if any I have and to these purposes I mean to devote myself either to be convinced myself or to convince my opposers done this 18th day of Nov. in the year of our Lord Christ 1814.

Jesse Smith

Introduction by John W. Welch, Professor of Law at Brigham Young University and Editor of BYU Studies, with assistance from Richard L. Anderson, Milton V. Backman, Jr., Richard L. Bushman, Larry E. Dahl, Jonathan A. Dibble, and LaMar Garrard; transcription by Doris Brower, Melinda Jeffress, and Marny K. Parkin.

NOTES

This document, located in the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, is used by permission. The version of this protest recorded in the Tunbridge town records begins, "Protest of Brother Jesse Smith against a Vote of the Ch[urch] passed June 25th
1813." The private text published above conforms with the public document in almost all substantive respects, and the recorded version has been used to clarify obscure places and torn edges in the private document with those words shown above in brackets. The symbol ^ indicates words or letters inserted above the line in the original.

1The Tunbridge community church operated under the presbyterian form of church government for eight years, deciding in 1813 to return to Congregationalism. James Ramage, Centennial Celebration of the Congregational Church, Tunbridge, Vermont (Montpelier, Vt.: Watchman, 1892), 25–26. Jesse Smith purchased pew twenty-two in this church building in 1794. Ramage, Centennial Celebration, 5; courtesy of LaMar Garrard, from records in the state library, Montpelier, Vermont.

2Under the Plan of Union, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches could hire ministers from either faith. The Plan of Union resulted in the transformation of many Congregational churches into Presbyterians, but this development also created tensions within American Presbyterianism. The Plan of Union was rescinded by the Presbyterians in 1835 and by the Congregationalists in 1852. Obviously, the controversy over various forms of church polity was heated, not only in Tunbridge, but also throughout New England, New York, and the Western Reserve. Albert E. Dunning, Congregationalists in America (Boston: Pilgrim, 1894), 321–33; and Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston: Pilgrim, 1942), 142–46.

3He joined sixteen others, including his father Asael and his brother Joseph, in forming a Universalist Society in Tunbridge in 1797. Tunbridge Town Record, 188; located by LaMar Garrard.


5The records of the Tunbridge church mention that Jesse, an influential member, "vigorously protested" and had to be excommunicated. Ramage, Centennial Celebration, 26–27.

6Jesse Smith appears to refer here to a subsequent version of the law entitled An Act for Supporting Ministers of the Gospel, 1787 Vermont Laws, October, 1783, 1. No law named An Act for the Support of the Gospel has been found in the Vermont laws or in the Vermont state office, but an 1801 statute is introduced in the Vermont laws as an "alteration of an act, entitled 'An act for the support of the gospel.'"

7The tax issue had been a problem in Tunbridge from the beginning. In 1794 a heated debate over whether to raise money by taxing the members or selling pews resulted in a compromise. LaMar Garrard, "The Smith Family and the First Congregational Church in Tunbridge," unpublished manuscript; and Tunbridge Town Record, 191–93.

81783 Vermont Laws, October 1783, 1.

91783 Vermont Laws, October 1783, 2.

101787 Vermont Laws, October 1, 1787, 3.

111801 Vermont Laws, November 3, 1801, Section 3, Proviso 2. Also pursuant to this law, Joseph Smith, Sr., like several other citizens of Randolph, Vermont, recorded a protest in the Randolph town records on July 1, 1802, stating, "I Do not agree in Religious opinion With a Majority of the Inhabitants of this Town." Randolph Liber Primus, miscellaneous records (commencing 1790), 71.


Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, 111. Jesse’s opposition to the restored gospel has earned him a negative reputation that has been used to accentuate the contrast between Jesse and his brothers. For example, while acknowledging Jesse’s religious motivation, Mark L. McConkie characterizes Jesse as “frenzied and recusant,” “censorious,” with a “violent and acerbic tongue.” *The Father of the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 11, 59, 121.

2 Peter 2:22.


Acts 15:16.

Isaiah 40:15–16.

Isaiah 40:17.

Judges 5:23.

Matthew 16:19; 18:18.

Matthew 19:14.

Matthew 16:19.

Matthew 16:18.


Deuteronomy 17:8–11.

See note 3 above.

Psalm 74:22.

Psalm 74:21.


Psalm 72:19.
Quilting Sisters

Richard G. Oman

*Bishop Sheets’s Quilt*, Eighth Ward Relief Society, Salt Lake City, 1872, Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art, Gift of Mrs. Eva West.

The quilt shown on the front cover of this issue was a gift by the Female Relief Society of the Salt Lake Eighth Ward to a beloved bishop, Elijah Funk Sheets. Bishop Sheets served the Eighth Ward as bishop from 1856 to 1904, the longest service of any bishop in the history of the Church.¹

The center panel depicts a beehive surrounded by bees, symbolizing Latter-day Saint cooperation, order, and industry.² What better symbol for the Eighth Ward Relief Society working together in a quilting bee than the bees surrounding the hive? Above the beehive is embroidered an all-seeing eye representing the Lord. Above that is embroidered “Holiness to the Lord,” which served to remind all that everything we do should be done in accordance with the will of the Lord. “F.R.S” stands for “Female Relief Society.” “1872” is undoubtedly the date the quilt was completed.

Surrounding the center panel are blocks depicting roses and baskets full of grapes and strawberries. Zion is blossoming as a rose³ and bountifully producing crops. In outer blocks are doves, each holding an olive branch, a joining of two ancient symbols of peace.⁴ The border of the quilt is an appliqué of intertwined vines. Vines have long been an ancient symbol of Israel⁵ but can also symbolize Christ.⁶ The quilt tells the Eighth Ward Relief Society’s bishop that they are righteously laboring to bring forth the Lord’s Kingdom on earth.

This quilt was made one year after Sheets was given the additional calling of being a “traveling bishop” to several stakes in central Utah. In this job, he supervised temporal affairs for the Church.

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Detail from *Bishop Sheets's Quilt*. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
Quilting Sisters

He also served as assistant trustee-in-trust for the Church under Brigham Young. The Relief Society probably made this quilt to celebrate Bishop Sheets's additional calling.

*Senator Edmunds's Quilt*, Women's Home Mission Society of Ogden, Utah, 1882, Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.

American women have used quilts to express their opinions and celebrate important events for almost two hundred years. The quilt shown on the back cover of this issue was made by Protestant women in Utah as a gift to Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont to express their appreciation for his part in passing the Edmunds Bill. The bill placed severe legal penalties on the Mormons for practicing polygamy.

This quilt is a "parlor throw" quilt made in a tumbling block pattern. On it are embroidered the names of 130 non-LDS women from Ogden, Utah, plus Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, the honorary president of the Women's Home Mission Society. In the center is the name of the recipient, "Gov. F. Edmunds. U.S. Senator from Vermont."  

In the late nineteenth century, parlor throws became fashionably upscale. Rich cloth, especially velvets and silks with deep, saturated colors, were avidly sought for these quilts. Cloth was especially prized if it had been part of a wedding dress, silk hair ribbons from a graduation, a baby dress, or other highly symbolic costume. Expressive embroidery and rich fabrics, rather than intricate and time-consuming quilting, were the main decorative embellishments. These quilts were not used for personal bedding; rather they were placed in parlors for viewing by visitors. The donors probably expected (or at least hoped) that the Edmondsses would display this piece in their parlor.

A parlor throw quilt was the perfect vehicle for the Women's Home Mission Society to express their social status, group solidarity yet individuality, and up-to-date fashionableness to Senator Edmunds. Perhaps the self-consciously upscale nature of the quilt was meant to contrast with the inferred "backwardness" of Mormon women as depicted in the popular press. The quilt mixed the concept of women taking a growing public role with an overtly domestic art form.

Contrast this quilt with the one made by the Eighth Ward Relief Society. Both quilts were made by Utah women. Both were gifts
Detail from *Bishop Sheets’s Quilt*. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
Details from Bishop Sheets’s and Senator Edmunds’s quilts. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

to men who were seen as championing the women’s values. Both were seen as supporting a religious point of view. Yet one quilt celebrates individualism, stylish fashion, public display, and an appeal to secular power. The other focuses on cooperation, unity, building Zion, private display, and a celebration of religious power.

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NOTES

1 Acquisition Record Form, Bishop Sheets’s Quilt, Museum of Church History and Art.
3 Isaiah 35:1.
5 Psalms 80:8–10; Isaiah 5:1–7; Alma 16:17.
8 Acquisition Record Form, Senator Edmunds’s Quilt, Museum of Church History and Art.
Brent’s Japanese Mission Quilt, Karen Searle (1935-), Shelley, Idaho, 1980. Used by permission of Brent Searle. Missionary quilts, usually made by the missionary’s mother or grandmother have become an increasing popular form of distinctively Mormon quilting. This quilt was made by Karen Searle for her son Brent, who was serving in the Japan Oyama Mission. The oriental character means “Peace, happiness, and health.” Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
A Non-Mormon Religion Professor's Impressions of Mormon Missionaries

The commitment, innocence, and candor of Mormon missionaries impress a Maine professor and his students.

Robert L. Lively, Jr.

Most students at our small state university in rural New England have had little exposure to the variety of religious faiths. Many of my students, perhaps 40 percent, claim affiliation with Roman Catholicism, another 30 percent with Protestant denominations, and the remaining students have no affiliation. In each class of thirty to thirty-five, there are always several who have never been inside a church or synagogue. Partly to address this lack of experience with religious movements, I invite representatives of various faiths to address my classes. In the past eight years, we have had presentations by the following Christian faiths: Roman Catholic, all the “main-line” Protestant denominations (represented by ordained women, whenever possible), Latter-day Saint, Seventh-day Adventist, Christian Science, Pentecostal, Unificationist, Jehovah's Witnesses, Quaker, Unitarian, Christian Fundamentalist, Shaker, and The Way. Non-Christian faiths that have been represented are Judaism, Islam, Baha'i, Confucian, Hindu, Zen Buddhism, and Wiccan.

Among these diverse religious movements, locally available representatives most often are middle-aged or older, with the exceptions of foreign students, who may appear to speak about their faith, and of Latter-day Saint missionaries, who are about the same age as most of the students in class. While I might have invited a Mormon bishop or Relief Society president to speak, I have always chosen a set of missionaries primarily because the missionaries represent their faith from a unique position due to their young age.

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When I ask the students which of them has had Mormon missionaries knock at their door, usually about 90 percent raise their hands, but very few have ever invited them into their homes or apartments. I then prepare the class for a visit by the missionaries by focusing on two topics: continuity and commitment. The first topic leads us to a discussion of religious tradition, and I attempt to draw attention to the natural resistance that develops against any new religious movement, particularly a faith that claims to have a living prophet and new books of scripture as does The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Students can better understand the persecution endured by the early Mormons if they are aware of the human tendency to cling to traditional beliefs and to view new beliefs with suspicion or even fear.

Our discussion of commitment leads us to realize that most of us are committed, at any given moment, to a movement or idea or line of action, and further, that the amount of time, money, and effort we devote to this commitment indicates the depth of the commitment. The class also comes to accept the notion that, since we do not all share the same goals, what may be important to one person may seem inconsequential, even strange, to another. I ask students to attempt to determine the commitment level of the two missionaries who will visit the class, and to identify specific elements in their presentation that provide clues to this. For example, I suggest that they might wish to ask about the cost of a mission and where the funds come from.

In addition to preparing the class, I attempt to help the missionaries know what to anticipate. Several weeks before the visit, I telephone them to extend the invitation. I make clear that while I am not a Latter-day Saint, I am friendly to the church and admire many of its members and programs. As one might expect, this appears to dispel any anxiety that the invitation might cause, because few of the missionaries have had much college experience and many appear somewhat in awe of the world of higher education. Of the ten or twelve sets of missionaries that I have invited over the years, none has ever been asked to speak to a college class before, but none has refused my invitation. I once encountered a female or "sister" missionary on the phone who quickly assumed I was one of the "elders" playing a practical joke on her. Finally, I persuaded her
that my inquiry was legitimate, and she and her companion made a fine presentation to the class.

The three topics that I suggest they address—and these are the topics I give to representatives of all of the faiths—are the history of the church (in brief), its basic doctrines, and their own personal stories—were they born in the faith, how did they come to accept it spiritually, and what led them to devote so much time to their faith? Answers to the latter two of these three topics, the representatives' personal connections with and commitment to the faith, prove to be the most interesting to class members.

Further preparations of the missionaries for their appearance include my taking them out for a meal prior to their meeting with the class. This setting gives me a way of rewarding their efforts, of becoming better acquainted, and of answering any last-minute questions. Two or three of the missionaries have been bold enough during these relaxed moments to inquire about the state of my own soul. Usually I have actively avoided dealing with such questions during this preclass discussion, but I have not always been successful.

Of all those invited to make a presentation, only one missionary appeared nervous. He was still in the early months of his mission and speaking before an unusually large class—sixty students that semester—may have contributed to his anxiety. If other missionaries were nervous, they did not show it. Afterwards, many admitted that the thought of speaking to so large a group of unfamiliar people not of their faith was intimidating, as their experience before such groups was limited to settings among their own faith with supportive listeners. The factor that appeals most to my students about the LDS missionaries—their being close to the students in age—turns out to be the very factor that brings the most anxiety to the missionaries themselves. Younger audiences, they claim, look up to them, while older audiences appear to admire them for their commitment, manners, neat dress, and courtesy. But their peers, they believe, evaluate them differently, perhaps more harshly, more candidly. One missionary reported that while addressing the class, he was constantly wondering, "What are they thinking? Do they think I'm crazy?"

But the missionaries' anxiety seems to have no grounds, for the students have always been impressed by them, and an instant rapport
appears to arise between them and the class, probably in large measure because of their similar ages. With representatives of other faiths, this rapport is sometimes lacking, perhaps in part because many representatives are as old as the students' own parents and thus implicitly represent parental authority. Furthermore, the missionaries look like college students, at least our more neatly groomed ones. One student's comment is typical: "I didn't expect them to be as 'normal' as they were."

Generally, the missionaries display an innocence and a candor that students (and probably most people) find appealing. An example is the missionary who told the class that on the first night of his mission, when he was far away from home for the first time in his life, he cried himself to sleep. Another, in response to a student asking if he had ever slipped in regard to the Mormon health code, quietly replied, "We have all slipped sometime in our lives." The classes have always responded well to the missionaries' honesty in admitting their ignorance of a particular issue, or in agreeing that perhaps there may be more than one way to view a situation or idea. In contrast, older representatives from other faiths tend to be more dogmatic in their answers, and this firmness often turns students off. Finally, the class members often remark about the seeming genuineness of the "testimonies" that the missionaries bear of their personal conviction regarding matters of their faith.

As for the actual approach that they use in class, generally the missionaries combine a videotape on early church history with an oral presentation by them both, in alternating style as if they were conducting a "cottage meeting" with an "investigator" in someone's home. This appears to work quite well before the class. The only topic with which a few of them have seemed uncomfortable is the role of women in the church. Because our campus is about 70 percent female, many in the class are likely to voice objections when they hear that Mormon women are not allowed to hold the "priesthood" or church authority, and they also might speak out on the size of many Mormon families. One missionary informed the class he was one of fifteen children, at which even I joined in the gasps throughout the room.

Another topic that causes some consternation among students is the idea of various levels of heavenly glory and that only Mormons
in good standing will inherit the highest level. The missionaries seem more at ease holding their ground on this, yet they are usually able to do it without causing further alienation, unlike many other more sectarian, more exclusive faiths. Students have trouble, as might be expected, with several other unique aspects and doctrines of the faith. Among these are the idea of Joseph Smith as a modern-day prophet, the Book of Mormon as legitimate scripture complementing the Bible, and baptism for the dead.

As noted earlier, however, student interest seems to focus on the personal involvement and commitment of the missionaries more than on the various tenets of their faith. Most students cannot fathom why LDS missionaries are willing to do what they do for two years. Said one student, "My general reaction was, what are these two nice young men doing here? Why aren't they home and in college? Why are they here trying to convert people who don't want to be converted?" When I ask the class why so many young Mormons accept calls to serve full-time missions in spite of its high cost—currently about $350 per month regardless of where the missionary serves throughout the world, an amount provided solely by the missionary and the missionary's family—the more perceptive students reply that what costs us the most is often valued the most and that something that comes easily is seldom regarded highly. This comment seems to suggest that young Mormons, in working at various jobs to earn their share of mission expenses, come to value the mission experience partly because it costs a great deal. Our discussion of this idea frequently leads to our talking about it being more costly to be an active Mormon than to be active in many other faiths, primarily because of the church's requirement of tithing to fund its vigorous building program worldwide, as well as its other expenses.

Another important dimension that I believe underlies my students' amazement at spending a class period with the missionaries, but one that rarely becomes articulated, is that they cannot see themselves being capable of doing what the missionaries are doing. Before them is a young person their own age who is hundreds, often thousands of miles from home and family for two years without the chance for a quick trip home, constantly meeting and talking with strangers, having to speak in public, knock on doors, talk with
people on the streets (in some missions), live twenty-four hours a day with a companion whom he/she has never met before, and be self-disciplined as well as a self-starter. The entire idea must be terrifying to many in the class if they think much about it; surely it would bring out many of their insecurities.

What these students fail to understand is that the LDS Church prepares its missionaries from an early age to accept, even welcome, such a challenge in early adulthood, and this well-organized effort contrasts sharply with the relative lack of such preparation of youth in other churches. Mormon children and youth are invited and encouraged from early childhood to speak before others, to learn the teachings of the faith, to memorize scriptures of importance, and to incorporate the conservative moral values of the faith in their day-to-day lives. Most missionaries have taken four years of "seminary" courses while in high school, meaning they have met for an hour each weekday before, during, or after school to study various books of scripture, thus preparing them with a foundation of gospel knowledge and personal conviction.

Moreover, virtually none of my students have been elevated as young teenagers to the status that the LDS Church gives its youth: at twelve, a boy is given what is believed to be the "royal priesthood" of God, and a girl becomes part of the Young Women program, in which she is taught to demonstrate in her life what is believed to be her divine birthright as a daughter of God. Membership in these groups requires active involvement in the important inner workings of the church and clearly must have a positive effect on the young person's self-esteem and level of commitment. Finally, the young person accepting a mission call is given intensive training, including (if appropriate) language training, at one of the church's Missionary Training Centers. Thus, what my students do not fully realize when they first meet the missionaries is that despite their youth, openness, and relative lack of formal gospel training, the missionaries are the products of a long-term grooming process.

In discussing missionary work with older members of the church, I have come to realize that the missionaries we have in New England, while typical of those churchwide in a general sense, are not typical in every sense. For instance, New Englanders, being the
somewhat stubborn Yankees that they are, generally resist efforts to
convert them to Mormonism, even though Joseph Smith’s roots
actually began in upstate Vermont. During two years in the region,
a missionary might aid in the conversion of perhaps a dozen or
fewer persons. There are other areas of the world that prove even
more difficult for such proselytizing, such as the predominantly
Roman Catholic countries of France, Spain, and Italy; and proselytiz-
ing in Arab countries is not allowed at all. On the other hand,
missionary labors are extremely fruitful in many Central and South
American countries, in the Philippines, and in the South Pacific,
where the number of converts during a two-year mission might be as
high as five hundred.

The church has always promoted the active spreading of the
gospel, and a few of the earliest missionaries like Wilford Woodruff,
Heber C. Kimball, and Parley P. Pratt were responsible for the con-
version of literally thousands, mostly in England; but just as the
popular evangelist Billy Graham has observed in our own time,
the quick convert is usually quick to depart, too. Mormon leaders
understand this phenomenon, and they encourage today’s mission-
aries to answer as adequately as possible any concerns and questions
that their investigators have, to take their investigators to church
meetings at least once prior to their baptism, and to involve them
in other dimensions of LDS life. In addition, missionaries are assigned
to seek out “less active” members of the faith and to reestablish
ties with them, aiming to bring them back into activity.

While the church obviously benefits from the steady influx of
new converts (some claim they are “the lifeblood of the church”), the
personal growth of the missionary must be of nearly equal value to
the church in the long run. I have often reflected that two years as a
Mormon missionary is undoubtedly an excellent learning experi-
ence. The list of benefits surely is longer than the following, but
these occur to me as an outsider: independence from family, self-
sufficiency, personal discipline, self-motivation, financial manage-
ment, practice with interpersonal relationships, development of
communication skills, learning to deal with adversity, experience
with travel, exposure to different (often foreign) cultures and values,
and (for many) the learning of a foreign language.
All these benefits are assured, I believe, by providing the missionary with a tightly knit organization and support system that also provides frequent counsel and guidance from a mission president and his spouse, as well as senior missionaries. Granted, a few missionaries never make it through the MTC, a few leave their missions early for reasons other than illness, and some go through the motions only because of pressure from home. But even in such "failures," the missionaries learn important aspects about life and about themselves. All members, regardless of mission experience, are expected to be "member missionaries," a concept first enunciated by President David O. McKay in the 1950s, and it is not surprising, therefore, that many returned missionaries continue throughout their lives to invite their friends and acquaintances to investigate their faith.

It is through such lifetime missionaries that I first became interested in the church. In the late 1960s, when my wife was a Brown University graduate student (while I was studying at the Yale Divinity School), her study carrel was next to that of an active Mormon. Both of us were attracted to the genuineness and the calm and friendly manner of our new friend and his family. When he learned of my studying at Yale, he presented me a Book of Mormon. Eventually, my interest in the history of the church was sparked to the point of writing a dissertation at the University of Oxford on the church's nineteenth-century period in Britain; in the course of my research, I spent some time with President Gordon B. Hinckley, who also impressed me with his warm, courteous spirit. Despite his ever-increasing burdens as a major leader in the church, President Hinckley has found time to respond to subsequent inquires that I have made about church history. He told me once, "The time will come when you and your family will join the Church." Rather than take offense at his boldness, I felt it was a compliment given in the true spirit of "member missionary" work. Finally, I have a colleague in my department at the university who is a Latter-day Saint. Primarily because of my ongoing interest in the church and my respect for its members, he was the first person whom I looked up when I first arrived on campus. We have been good friends ever since, and he has been especially helpful in answering my questions and in sharing his
experiences with me. Some day I may even follow his oft-repeated suggestion that I read the Book of Mormon from cover to cover.

I recently spoke with a young man who was preparing to leave on his mission. He was nervous, excited, and, after so many years of anticipation, relieved that he was finally going to go. He is the first missionary in his family, and his parents are proud, yet nervous, too. During our conversation, he sometimes had to struggle to articulate his thoughts and feelings; he lacked the polish that the MTC and experience in the mission brings, but that is what I liked best about our discussion. So much of what awaited him, he only dimly perceived; but one thing he was certain of was that he would be a better person for the experience. I am sure that he is right.

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Hmong Picture Cloth, sister of Tong Lor Lee, Thailand, 1984. Thousands of Hmong living in Laos served in a secret CIA army during the Vietnam War. Their specific mission was to rescue downed American airmen behind enemy lines. After the fall of Vietnam and Laos, the Communists used conventional and chemical warfare to retaliate against the Hmong. Many Hmong villages were destroyed, and an estimated one-third of the 350,000 Hmong in Southeast Asia were killed. Tens of thousands of Hmong refugees fled across the Mekong River into Thailand from their mountain-top villages. This picture cloth documents the typical refugee experience. Because so few Hmong spoke English, picture cloths such as this were one of the few ways they could tell the world about the horrors they had personally experienced.

About sixty thousand Hmong eventually made it to America, where many joined the Church. This picture cloth was acquired from Tong Lor Lee, of Kearns, Utah, who in turn had acquired it from her sister, who was still in the Ban Vinai Refugee Camp in Thailand. The cloth was in the exhibition “Hmong Textiles: An Art Form in Transition” at the Museum of Church History and Art in 1985, where the story and art of many Hmong Latter-day Saints was exhibited. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
Another Winter’s Tale

There is in Cape Town a season when people awake to cold and a hunger that cannot be assuaged by crusts and coffee.

Tessa Meyer Santiago

Cape Town in the winter. The mountain sulks under grey cloud. The ocean pounds empty beaches. Streets swim in rain. The mother city is silent, a resentful silence. She pays now for seven months of decadent, hedonistic living, seven months of sunsoaked Saturdays and coconut oil, seven months of mango-grape fruit salad in glass bowls. She pays now for that time of indulgence. The elements were tamed. Then they were bored. Now they run rampant; school is out for the winter. The wind shrieks as it rips the green shutter from the white walls in the grey late afternoon. It rushes through the oak-lined avenues. The next morning, the victim lies, branches broken, a weeping gash in its side, leaves wisping in the breeze.

Such destruction always brought a sadness into our lives, for a while. For a while we traveled back to the springs, the summers, the autumns of those great oaks. It was their first green leaves, bursting boldly onto the grey palette of winter, that heralded the coming world of color. It was on those thick, dependable limbs that we sat: barefoot, sucking sourballs two for a cent, devouring the daring and audacity of Nancy Drew. It was their acorns we threw at the pale bare legs of the Preparatory School boys walking beneath us in their grey shorts. It was beneath their fallen finery that I played Tutankhamen and Laura searched for hidden treasure.

Now it is winter, that wet, dismal time of retribution. No longer do the engineers and architects, the managing directors and the corporate heads crawl home in shirt sleeves, sweaty brow, and air-conditioned Mercedezes. In the background, the melody of summer sprinklers played on green lawn. But that tune is over; another has begun. The windscreen wipers work furiously in the winter deluge.
while behind the screen sits a 100-percent cashmere sweater and a pale face.

The Mercedes turns left into Canigou Avenue, rounds the corner, past the grey slate-roof house where the dachshund lives, and pulls into the double garage next to the white Audi 5000. The architect gathers the evening newspaper from the seat behind him. He shoves the plans for the casino on the West Coast under his arm and glances through the rain towards the house, gleaming white against the petulant winter sky. The gutters spew their contents into the drain. The windows smile a smug domestic warmth. The slam of the car door carries through the rain. He runs towards the light of the brass lamp glowing gold in the glass. Head down he runs, past the pink hydrangeas, past the lemon tree, past Laura's bike forgotten on the grass, over the clover patch, through the French doors to stop, balancing raindrops on the end of his nose.

From the lounge comes the sound of Stravinsky in torture. Laura stumbles on the fifth bar of his concerto. Her blue eyes squint above the freckles. The firelight is throwing shadows on the white page. Twilight has gone. The night descends in a deeper grey. Laura rises to turn on another brass lamp, stepping over Arthur, who lies comatose, bathed in the heat of the fire. His fur glows golden in the orange light. His long legs stretch across a rainbow of carpet, Afghan and Persian in a blaze of winter color. Arthur whimpers. He dreams. He is chasing bitches across open plains. Laura smiles and returns to her masters. She curses softly.

In the dining room, the silver collected over thirty years reflects in the dark of the polished mahogany table. Teapots and punchbowls struggle to survive amongst Paul's books and boots; he was on his way to the fridge. He sits at the table now, chewing loudly on cold turkey, examining Charlie Brown and "Office Space to Rent." Across the table, the light shines on a lighter brown head, bowed in fierce concentration. Long young fingers bend the book into submission, forcing the pages to surrender their message. She sees nothing, only the bewildering world of adulthood and consummate knowledge. She breathes heavily, "j-a-n-e." In a rush and a smile, Dick and Jane run across the page, Alexandra in hot pursuit. Upstairs I lie immersed in the heat of Vaseline Bath Oil and the exploits of Hercules Poirot. Outside the rain falls.
In the rain they come. From the Flats where the sand always blows, from across the highway and under the railway, over the common where the pine trees shiver, they come. Sons of kings and warriors, children of the shanty towns, they come. I do not know what brought them to our door, perhaps the rain. Perhaps the cold and the empty stomachs. Or the cries of the children. Maybe it was the orange ceramic sun Dad bought at the Annual Pottery Fair. It hung next to the door above the potted mandarin orange tree Paul gave Mom for Christmas. Perhaps it was the sun. Whatever the reason, they came. A bizarre winter tradition, they stand on the doorstep, cap in hand, barefoot, the rain beating on their heads. Have you ever looked into the eyes of a dog, just beaten? Still, brown, deep, trusting, unfathomable eyes.

I reach for the orange tray, R1.98 at the supermarket. I flick on the kettle. The breadbin squeaks as I reach for the wholewheat loaf. On the bottom of the bin lie the shriveled kernels of loaves, winters and orange trays gone by. The peanut butter jar is greasy in my hand. I reach into the fridge. My arm brushes the cold turkey, the flesh hacked by an impatient hand. I draw out the sweetmilk cheese and the apricot jam. The edges of the jam tin glisten with droplets of summer’s fruits. The kettle’s hiss changes to a scream, and I reach for the elephant mug, the elephant caught in eternal flight behind the golden glaze. (We bought the mug on one of our trips to the northern game reserves last spring. The mug is used only in winter when the rain starts to fall and the brown eyes plead; nobody else is that hungry.) Steam curls from the muddy brown brew and over the rim hangs the tag: Five Roses Top Quality Tea.

In the same room where the brass lamp shone through the rain, there is a man, one of them. His feet rub the braided coils of the grass mat. Does it make him remember? (I don’t know and I probably didn’t care.) He sits tentatively on the floral couch as a small pool of water forms beneath his feet. He stumbles slowly to his feet as I enter. Then for one brief moment, black and white meet over three slices of bread and a charging elephant. I leave him, his dignity too quiet for my young white eyes. He eats with the brass lamps and the art books, perched on the edge of a marigold. Upstairs I look for that sweater that Gran made me one Christmas. It glows in the dark. And after the elephant is empty and the bread is gone, head bowed
and feet bare, he walks down the garden path in the rain in my sweater that glows in the dark. Behind his back, the sun smiles.

So it went all winter, every winter. We lived our lives as we always had lived them until the doorbell chimed. Then the dark, unfathomable eyes would see what we had and what we did. And after the peanut butter and the jam and the cheese were gone, their bare feet would walk down the garden path, the warmth of a white wealth in their stomachs, glowing sweaters on their backs. I cannot remember the faces or the names. I was busy with life. All I can remember is the bread and the elephant and the rain. And the eyes.

It rained again that winter and from across the Flats they came. Across the highway and under the railway, through the rain they came, to the white suburbs. The feet were bare and the eyes were dark. They remembered the brass lamps and the piano, the Persian carpets and the art books. And they were cold. And they were hungry. And they were black in a white land on a grey winter day.

Winter came early that year. The sound of cricket practice was still in the air when the rain started to fall. The cloud came again to claim the mountain in its yearly occupancy, and the shutters were battened down in a futile attempt to thwart the wind. I had just returned from a year in Australia. It was a year in which I thought I had learnt the intricacies and delicacies of the human existence. Weathering a year away from the nest at the tender age of seventeen can make you overly confident of your own abilities and powers of understanding. I had experienced a culture far removed from the pulsebeat of a confused Africa. It had been difficult to adjust to the lackadaisical attitude of acceptance of that unique breed—the Australian. It had been a lesson, a growing experience, as my mother would have sagely said. And I thought I had graduated with my sanity still intact, my powers of understanding heightened, and my awareness honed to the desired edge. It was this edge that allowed me to boast of knowledge, of life. So I thought.

I opened the door on yet another of those dull days that makes Cape Town such a wet place in the winter. What greeted me was not new. I had seen it before, although the actual sight had been missing from my life for a year. It was a sight that made my mother guilty and my father mad. It was the sight that told me it was time to get out the
trusty old orange tray, ferret out the elephant mug, and put on the kettle. The ritual had begun.

But this one wasn’t a ritual. She was black, she was cold, she was hungry. She looked like any one of the hundreds who had been there before. So what was the difference? Or more frightening still, was there any difference? Had they all been through what she had? I do not want to know the answer.

She told me her house had been burned down in a fire the week before. We had read about these fires every winter week: “Oil Lamp Causes Shanty Death of 5.” I was not shocked; I did not understand. And I had heard so many stories before. She told me again that her house had burned down the week before. I know she could see disbelief in my eyes.

“I got no food for my children, madam. My house burn down when my husband sleeping, madam. I live in the bush for three days now. I got nothing to give my children, madam. No, I live in the bush now, madam. They drink water, madam, they’s only young, madam. Madam, all my money is burnt in the fire, madam. No, I no got work, madam, because my old madam fired me. But how could I be to work, madam, when my husband was dead?”

I had heard it all before. Either the husband was dead or the grandmother had cancer or the wife had left him (this one to the odor of Liquortown Special of the Week). Did they really expect me to believe? Couldn’t they just say they wanted food and get it over with?

“Madam I have nothing. Only this.” The skin had been burnt white. The scars twisted their way down her thighs, white snakes against a black log. They curled around her knees, licking the flesh. There she stood. In the rain, lifting up her dress to show the madam that she did not lie. “Madam. I have nothing. Only this.” She stood waiting on madam’s eighteen-year-old generosity. And it was only then that I caught a glimpse of the other side.

I invited her in, habit compelling me to give her the orange tray and elephant mug. But this time she sat in the dining room where we had sat laughing only the afternoon before. Before her she had three slices of bread and a mug of tea; behind her, the silver of thirty years; and inside her, I don’t know. Mom and I were laughing in the kitchen over family trivia. The radio was proclaiming the latest trends on the Johannesburg stock exchange, and in the dining room, this wet, scarred, strong woman bowed her head to thank her God for three
slices of bread, a mug of tea, and a fire. I can still hear the rain falling as I looked through the door onto the other side.

But I could not think for too long; I had another part of the ritual to fulfill. I had to go and find that glowing sweater or the undesirable equivalent. I had not taken the full wardrobe to Australia, and some of the forgotten clothes were out of date. I found my glowing sweaters on the top shelf, the dust of last season in their folds.

“You don’t have a petticoat, madam?” The woman sat in her wet dress, the scars showing through the bare cotton, making patterns where the material had none. Of course I had petticoats—did she want a half, full, beige, black, or becomingly sultry? I found myself retreating into the mental sarcasm I employ to protect the emotions. If I started now, I’d be a mental wreck by the time winter was over. Better to give, not share. She pulled the petticoat over her knees, inched it past her thighs, the scars disappearing behind the white sheath. “Now the skollies won’t follow me home now, madam.” Ten lusty black men flashed through my mind as they charged over the dunes in the dusk of the dusty township after a frantic white petticoat.

The clothes disappeared into the shopping bags, folded with meticulous care and exclaimed over like a gift on Christmas morning. The shoes she refused to wear even though her sandals were scant protection against the cold because “they going to be so jealous, madam, when I wear the shoes to church, yes.” The grey jacket was shrugged over the shoulders, the red skirt was pulled on over the petticoat and wet dress, only to be taken off again because jealousy was what she was after. I stood by watching in silent amusement, half doubting the sincerity and half wishing I was back in the days of sourballs, acorns, and Nancy Drew. Head back against the wall, arms folded in smug satisfaction, I watched her performing her delight in guttural baai’s and booo’s, her black eyes dancing across the patterns her fingers drew on the softness. She turned towards me with the infectious grin that turned her black face into light. She slipped slowly off the chair onto the cold floor and came on her knees towards me. Her hands groped for mine. I was held fast as she bowed her head and prayed for me. She thanked me for my goodness, for my kindness, for my love for her. She knew the Lord was in me because she had seen his light. She knew this madam was a good person who cared for her people. Her black forehead pressed
against my hand as she told her God, "Bless the white madam, Father, bless her." She kissed me, and her face was wet.

I felt a sadness, a hollowness. Life was ebbing as I watched her through the window and the rain climb on the train that took her back to the bush.

**Epilogue.** We are sitting in the living room: not the one with the brass lamps and the Persian carpets; but my living room, with borrowed brown couches and African prints on a Provo wall—an attempt to bring home what seems so far away sometimes. It is seven years later, and Mom and I wait for the birth of my first child as April rains beyond the windows. Mom told me the end of the story. Sheila, of the scarred legs and the wet face, also had a child. Matthews was his name—a sickly little black body that would lie coughing on the couch in the study as his mother cleaned my mother’s house. My mother had given her a job when she visited us. I didn’t know that until I returned home three years later before my mission. Sheila cleaned for five years, every Tuesday and Friday morning. She came through the carport gate at 8:00, ready to face kitchen floors, unmade beds, dining room windows, and her own foil-wrapped plate from Sunday lunch on the second shelf in the fridge.

After Matthews was born, she brought him to work on her back, wrapped tight against her spine. Then he took his place in the study while his mother cleaned house. At lunch time, she slipped through the back gate to the chemist to buy cough medicine for her child. He didn’t really have a chance in the small shanty made of corrugated iron which Sheila called home. My mother tried to make it more livable by giving her a gas stove (they had no electricity), blankets, and gas heaters. But they were always stolen while Sheila was away at work. So it didn’t really help to give her anything.

My older sister, Gillian, had a son during the same week: Luke. In fact, Gillian and Sheila would compare bellyies during the pregnancy. I’m sure there was no laughing and giggling between friends, rather a smile and a knowing glance between two women who, although separated by life and law, were participants in a sacred ceremony that knows no legally defined boundaries or morally responsible ages. In fact they probably never even touched each other as they grew bigger and bigger and more clumsy. I’m sure
their conversations were more exchanges than conversations. Gillian wouldn’t know what to say to a black woman; Sheila wouldn’t know how to reply if she did. Once the babies were born, Gillian gave Sheila Luke’s old clothes when he had outgrown them. Matthews was so much smaller than Luke. Not surprising, really. Matthews coughed a lot but they all thought it was because of the rain and the damp. One night he coughed so much that Sheila tried to take him to the clinic the next morning. She wrapped him in a blanket, tied him to her back, and walked through the rain. He was dead when she arrived. The hospital couldn’t do anything for her, so she wrapped up her baby, put him on her back again and walked to the police station. There she waited for the coroner to tell her her son was dead. She waited four hours with her dead child on her back. Pneumonia was the official verdict. He had lived eight months, five of them in the rain. She went home to the Transkei to bury him.

A couple of weeks later, my mother and Gillian were sitting in the afternoon watching Luke crawl on the grass beneath the lemon tree. The sun was warm on their legs as they hoisted their skirts up over their knees to get a tan. The smell of lemon leaves and faint rose petals wafted through the garden. The talk had been of Sheila and Matthews and why things are the way they are—weighty matters for a summer afternoon on the patio. Slowly the carport gate opened, and Sheila walked in with a friend. I wasn’t there, but my mother’s voice filled with tears as she told me the two women, one black, one white, one her daughter, one her maid, one still a mother, one not, took each other in their arms on that summer afternoon and cried together. I wonder if Luke knew that his mother had touched a black woman for the first time in her life. I wonder if he even stopped to look as his mother ran past him to gather that tall, scarred woman in her arms. I wonder if Matthews knew that his life wasn’t just a slipping away, wasn’t just another case of pneumonia on the Cape Flats. I won’t say that Gillian has changed forever or that Sheila will never lack again. That’s not possible to promise. All I can say is that if Gillian and Sheila can meet and touch in a side garden in South Africa, and that neither knows that the other is black or white, nor cares, that perhaps solutions and answers are possible.

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Lower Campus

In the interests of the ecclesiastic weal:
The academy. Spiritual syllables designed
The paradigms of air, suspending asterisks
Of wonder that God was real west of Chicago,
In a circlet of mountains, west from Denver,
Over the Divide, and the arch range shading
South into Mexico. The hewn and homespun
City that honored Etienne Provost gathered
Filaments of learning from prairie flowers,
Sage, and the grain of books so carefully
Aligned and kept on a few shelves to edify
When seen, available at the touch of a hand
To mollify inquiry under the godly discipline
Of Maeser, a German saint rounded and sized
To fit a charity and a dedication for query
And learning. Far from Nauvoo the Beautiful,
But amid the signs of light over folded hands,
Classes began, homespun as if from vibrancy
Of patterned cloth across a counter, for sale.
Abounding for room, the academy kept its edifice
Of spirit in the stone of a round of buildings.
Halls of morning and a bell to ring to begin
Its meek prestige south of the capital city,
In the circlet of snow and greendark pines,
Beside a desert lake and the tenor of expanse
Westward still. Urgent whispering, Eloi,
Eloi, meant sorrow or the gaiety of sheaves
Of pages worn from their bindings from sallies
Of will, very marvels of what they came to be
Education Building, Lower Campus (south side). In this view, one can see the year “1881” above the second level and the academy name over the main entrance. Courtesy of the Photoarchives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
In rituals of God's beneficence: grammar
And penmanship, if nothing more, and surely
Never less. But like a rustic hint becoming
A sceptre of light, the Academy became itself
Always, seldom with abrasions of intellect,
But careful within, names arising for its mood:
Osmond, Swensen, Nelson, Pardoe, Reynolds,
Madsen, Harris, et al., who never said finality
For arts and sciences but only in behalf of God,
Who gave them a liberal purview of reality
Before the paradise of crystal earth, soon
To be. Classrooms inhabited until their wood
Split or warped, kept golden as students used it
Well, nicking identity here and there for fame;
Soft steps solemnly to and from, middle-worn
From trudging, the balanced weight of learning
Carried in primer manuscripts; desks in rows
For the forward motion of hands and periodic
Competence; soft lights and bells of glass
On cords for luminescence with switches there;
High ceilings that echoed rhetoric; and doors
That opened softly to the meekest gesture.
All who listened, listened well as the Academy
Moved to higher ground, ledge of its spirit,
Translated into natural size but meek as breath
That is held on a prospect's edge, then shimmers
Into Statement.

—Clinton F. Larson
Hearing Mercy

Thou art merciful, O God,
For thou hast heard my prayer,
even when I was in the wilderness.
Yea, thou wast merciful
when I prayed concerning those who were mine enemies,
and thou didst turn them to me.

Yea, O God, and thou wast merciful unto me
when I did cry unto thee in my field;
when I did cry unto thee in my prayer,
and thou didst hear me.

And again, O God, when I did turn to my house
thou didst hear me in my prayer.
And when I did turn unto my closet, O Lord,
and prayed unto thee, thou didst hear me.

Yea, thou art merciful unto thy children
when they cry unto thee,
to be heard of thee and not of men,
and thou wilt hear them.

Yea, O God, thou hast been merciful unto me,
and heard my cries in the midst of thy congregations.
Yea, and thou hast also heard me when I have been cast out
and have been despised by mine enemies.
Yea, thou didst hear my cries, 
and wast angry with mine enemies, 
and thou didst visit them in thine anger 
with speedy destruction.

And thou didst hear me 
because of mine afflictions and my sincerity; 
And it is because of thy Son 
that thou hast been thus merciful unto me.

Therefore I will cry unto thee in all mine afflictions, 
for in thee is my joy; 
for thou has turned thy judgments away from me, 
because of thy Son.

—Zenos

Editor’s note: Written before 600 B.C., Alma 33:4–11 features several qualities of parallelism and repetition. The incessant refrain of words such as cry, cries, prayer, prayed, bear, beard, afflictions, or merciful gives these lines a plaintive voice bespeaking the sincerity of the pleading prayers repeatedly offered by the prophet Zenos. His thought flows progressively from the most remote wilderness, through his field and house, into his most intimate closet; it then moves, in reverse, from the personal image of children, to the public assembly, and back out to the condition of the outcast in the wilderness, affirming that no circumstance is beyond the hearing of mercy.
**Worlds without End**, Terry Young (1944–), Myton, Utah, 1983. This quilt depicts Moses when he was taken up on a high mountain and shown a vision of the worlds created by the Lord: “And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof, even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works neither to my words” (Moses 1:38).

Most religious quilts in America are quite abstract. Thus many people unfamiliar with quilting tradition do not recognize those quilts’ inherently religious themes. In contrast, Terry Young has used a narrative style and even embroidered the scriptural reference. This quilt was one of the first made by the artist, who has become one of the top quilters in Utah. She currently lives in Provo. Reproduced courtesy of Carolyn Taylor.

Reviewed by Richard F. Haglund, Jr., Professor of Physics at Vanderbilt University.

In the morning of the Restoration, Joseph Smith recorded that when he and Sidney Rigdon had retranslated John 5:29,

> while we meditated upon these things, the Lord touched the eyes of our understandings and they were opened. . . . And we beheld the glory of the Son, on the right hand of the Father. . . . And now, after the many testimonies which have been given of him, this is the testimony, last of all, which we give of him: That he lives! For we saw him, even on the right hand of God, and we heard the voice bearing record that he is the Only Begotten of the Father—That by him, and through him, and of him, the worlds are and were created, and the inhabitants thereof are begotten sons and daughters unto God. (D&C 76:19–24)

Thus the Prophet Joseph adumbrated the themes which constitute the distinctive Mormon cosmology: a myriad of worlds, the overarching redemptive mission of Jesus Christ, and the simultaneous spiritual and intellectual communication of that vision from God to his children.

This cosmological vision was further illuminated in the book of Moses, as God declared that “worlds without number have I created . . . for mine own purpose; and by the Son I created them, which is mine Only Begotten” (Moses 1:33). To fulfill their roles in this cosmic drama of redemption, Latter-day Saints were enjoined to instruct one another “in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel, in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand; Of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass” (D&C 88:78–79).
By the Nauvoo period, the foundation had been laid for a remarkable, complex set of spiritual and intellectual relationships between Latter-day Saint theology and cosmology and between Mormon religious practice and secular scientific and technological progress.

Erich Robert Paul's *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology* presents a carefully crafted analysis of this relationship and an assessment of its impact on Latter-day Saint thought and theology. An unabashedly scholarly history, it is replete with learned footnotes and includes an excellent bibliographical essay. It may be a sign of the times that it was written by a Latter-day Saint professor at an institution of higher learning on the eastern slope of the Appalachians. It may also be portentous that the book was published by the university press of a state whence the Mormons were driven out at gunpoint in the winter of 1846—a press now boasting one of the longest book lists on Mormon history. Plainly bound, but graced by illustrations ranging from medieval cosmological schemes to the Hertzsprung-Russell diagram of stellar evolution, the book is a substantial contribution to the growing library of books on Mormon intellectual history.

The issues raised by the complex relationships among science, LDS theology, and its revealed cosmology have philosophical, theological, sociological, and scientific ramifications. Paul has chosen to analyze these issues in a historical perspective, permitting the reader to see the cultural settings in which the relationships of science and religion have been shaped. This approach is critical to understanding the perceived conflicts between science and Latter-day Saint theology. It may also help us eventually to recognize that the dilemma is more artificial than real, stemming from an incomplete comprehension of the character of science and of theology as intellectual and spiritual enterprises.

The book is divided into two sections, "Issues in Science and Religion" and "Mormonism and Cosmology." In the first, Paul outlines the development of modern science—with a heavy emphasis on physics1—as an intellectual, social, and cultural enterprise and traces the genealogy of the conflict model of the relationship between science and religion. He is especially successful in showing the tentative, revisionist character of modern science and its inability to
root out of its systematic approach to nature all hedges, intuitions, and purely aesthetic model constructions. Here, for example, is the restive Newton, revising his speculations on the character of light in order to excise unwanted Hermetic tendencies inherited from alchemy—only to replace them by the universal law of gravitation, according to it the same place of pride once accorded magic.

In this chapter, Paul also introduces modern cosmological views of the age and origin of the universe, the current "Big Bang" model of the universe, and the idea of the plurality of worlds. The plurality of worlds is a major theme which occupied many in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and from the Church's earliest days captured the imagination of many Latter-day Saint thinkers and theologians. In an engaging reprise in the penultimate chapter, Paul gives an overview of the current Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (SETI), a quest of truly epic potential for making contact with other life-forms who might be the inhabitants of those "worlds without number" which Moses and the Prophet Joseph saw in vision (Moses 1:33; see also D&C 76:24; 93:10).

The third chapter, "The Nature of Modern Science," presents the scientific enterprise as "an extraordinarily dynamic process of engaging the world in dialogue with itself and the human mind" (61). For most Latter-day Saints, raised on a diet of imprecise statements about "true science" and "true religion" as allies in a prettified "search for truth" which leads along a magical yellow-brick road to "true reality," this chapter is likely to administer a healthy shock. Comparing the methods and metaphysical foundations of science and theology rather than their objectives, Paul finds fascinating similarities and points of contact as well as the familiar differences. Indeed, the "warfare model" for the relationship between science and theology may be as much a cultural hangover from the late nineteenth century as Darwin's "Nature red in tooth and claw."° Latter-day Saints through most of the nineteenth century seemed to feel no particular sense of conflict, and there is a substantial basis for a synergistic relationship.³

The thematic heart of the book is its second section, in which Paul focuses on Mormon cosmology as it relates both to the physical and the transcendent universe. Here Paul has ranged broadly to
portray the influence of contemporaneous religious and scientific thought on individual LDS thinkers and leaders. He begins, of course, with Joseph Smith, using the idea of plurality of worlds as connective tissue in limning the Prophet's far-reaching view of God, man, and the universe. Brigham Young's fascination with astronomical topics is briefly described (114–16)—and one sees enough to wish for a more detailed exposition in some future work. A subsequent chapter is devoted to Orson Pratt's unified atomistic and cosmological theories based on theological and scientific considerations. Firmly in the grip of the nineteenth-century mechanical view of the universe, Pratt is nevertheless as modern as P. A. M. Dirac in understanding the central role of theory—as opposed to Baconian induction—as the primary determinant of meaning in scientific thought. The general themes of governing worlds, a plurality of worlds, and creation as a process of organizing preexistent materials were all in place at an early stage of Church history, helped along to a significant degree by both Pratt brothers as well as by Brigham Young. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, speculation on these topics found a favorable place in the sermons of Church leaders and in such publications as the Millennial Star, the Improvement Era, and even the Young Woman's Journal.

The drive for education and the practical bent for using science and technology to improve the material lot of Zion sent many young Latter-day Saints "back east" to graduate school at the end of the nineteenth century. In a chapter on "Science in the Church Hierarchy," Paul traces the ways in which the optimism about science and technology typical of the period shaped several men whose careers in science were cut short by calls to ecclesiastical service—Richard R. Lyman, Joseph F. Merrill, James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. These men—whose professional acquaintance with science allowed them to interpret sympathetically its discoveries and inner workings to members of the Church—were largely responsible for the moderate attitude toward science which prevailed until the 1940s and 1950s. The most prolific exemplar of this Mormon scientism, however, was B. H. Roberts, who was without formal scientific training but was a man of keen and adventuresome insight. In Paul's study, Elders Roberts and Talmage emerge
primarily as the exponents of LDS cosmology; Elders Widtsoe and Merrill, on the other hand, are seen to focus on the rational character of science, viewed as a search for truth, and on the potential for productive individual synthesis of scientific thought and religious faith.

Cosmology, as the study of the structure and dynamics of the universe as a physical system, posed little threat to Latter-day Saint theology. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the focus of scientific discussion shifted to evolution and cosmogony, the study of the origins of humankind and of the universe. These are by nature much thornier for the Church as an institution and for its members, because here the models and the language used by science are necessarily different from those usually invoked by theologians. As Paul points out, even during this era of Mormon scientism, a conservative, indeed a reactionary, trend was developing, led at first by Joseph Fielding Smith and later by Bruce R. McConkie. Paul has coined the term "neoliteralism" to describe their literal interpretation of the creation narratives in the books of Genesis, Moses, and Abraham in preference to evolutionary theory and standard "old-earth" geological models of creation. If we are to judge by the statements quoted by Paul, it appears that among the Twelve, this neoliteralist position now predominates, even though the official positions taken by the First Presidency seem not to explicitly reject scientific points of view.

Much as widespread speculation on the plurality of worlds in the nineteenth century was a part of the intellectual universe of Orson Pratt, current attitudes toward science among Church authorities mirror a fundamental ambivalence about science now found in the general population. Fully half of all Americans no longer believe that the theory of evolution correctly describes the origin of humankind—though it is arguable that the version of evolution in which they do not believe bears scant resemblance to current scientific theories or models. Given the recondite vocabulary of current scientific debates about origins, exemplified by such interdisciplinary arcana as biophysical geochemistry, it is unlikely that anyone in the leading councils of the Church will provide interpretive discussion like that found in Elder Widtsoe's *A Rational Theology*. The tremendous strains of a truly worldwide Church on its leadership
leave precious little leisure for such things. Instead, the increasing number of Mormon scientists who now do leading-edge science in these areas must learn to explain their work from an LDS point of view to a curious Church public.

The tragedy of the neoliteralists—inside the Church and out—is their evident determination to freeze both theology and science at the current, or even at a previous, stage of understanding. Thus they have failed to comprehend that the relentless self-critical drive of astrophysics, and the revolutionary partnership of physics and biology, have completely changed the terms of the debate over theories of creation, evolution, and the origins of man and the universe. The feared and imagined Darwinist enemy is no longer inside the gates; he probably does not even exist. Current discussions of biological science are full of words like "self-organization," "smart genes," and "anti-chaos," all hinting at purpose, self-organization, and other plainly ontological and teleological concepts which scientists as a rule dislike but which the scientific evidence no longer permits them to avoid. Paul's study of the neoliteralist reaction to science deserves a sequel in which the evolution debate is set in its current cultural and scientific context, just as he has juxtaposed the discussion of plurality of worlds and cosmogony with the current search for extraterrestrial intelligence.

If and when such a sequel is written, it ought also to incorporate an analysis of two more recent developments in cosmogony and evolution. One is the impact of nonlinear dynamics on our understanding of human freedom. Our approach to this seminal problem in both theology and the behavioral sciences must change because the nonlinear version of Newtonian mechanics is forcing scientists to give up the traditional link between deterministic (i.e., lawful) behavior and predictability. The other is the so-called "dark-matter" or "missing mass" problem—the discovery that the visible matter on which all present cosmologies are based may amount to as little as five percent of the total mass of the universe. Should this turn out to be the case, our present cosmological theories and the underlying physics would have to be viewed merely as special cases of far more general and still undiscovered laws.

One crucial aspect of the scientific enterprise figures only marginally in Paul's analysis: the mechanisms of consensus which
shape the character of theory and experimentation in the scientific community. Science is not just an activity carried out by curious individuals determined to ferret out the “stubborn, irreducible facts of nature.”

It is, more importantly, an ongoing conversation in search of truth, carried out under mutually agreed rules of art and sustained by a community subscribing to a common faith in that larger purpose. The dreary repetition of such statements as “there is no conflict between ‘true science’ and ‘true religion’” tends to obscure this central truth for many Latter-day Saints who are certain that the end of science is to reveal the grand secret of How It All Happened, or to write down the Wave Equation of the Universe. But science—defined as the activity in which scientists engage—depends in critical, indispensable ways on scientific consensus for the validation of knowledge. What Paul describes as “mainstream science” is, in fact, the only science. Those who refuse to submit to the discipline of critical review within the scientific community may have training or advanced degrees in science, but they are only spudding in their own gardens, not practicing any science worthy of the name.

Paul notes, for example, that the Church Education System refers in its institute classroom materials to “reputable scientists” who are said to endorse “young-earth” theories. But science is “public knowledge,” based on consensus, and no such position is accepted at the present time anywhere in the scientific community. “Young-earth” theories are, of course, sustained by conservative evangelical Christians under the guise of creationism—but it is not clear that Latter-day Saint theology should be moved to a position having so much in common with the larger world view of “Creation Science” just to save the appearances.

As Paul suggests, the debate over science and religion also suffers from the pervasive confusion of technology with science. Technology and science are now more intimately intertwined with each other than ever in the past and are generally viewed by the public as inseparable. However, their motivations, sources of knowledge, and cultural impact are vastly different. Technology, with its practical bent for doing what can and must be done, stands apart from science, just as religion often stands apart from theology.
The lensmakers of Delft, operating without the benefit (or hindrance!) of theories of optical physics, gave to Galileo and Newton the instruments with which they dismantled the cosmology of the medieval church. Indeed, technology is to science in many ways what religion is to theology. Technology tempers science, forces it out of comfortable paradigms, creates societal justification for the pursuit of science and simultaneously provides science with new tools. Technology not only has a certain kinship with religion, but indeed can be serviceable to it. President Spencer W. Kimball was fond of observing that God revealed the paraphernalia of modern technology to man to bring temporal and spiritual blessings to his children.\textsuperscript{13} This intermingling of motivations and benefits may well be a principal source of the ambivalent attitude toward science now common inside and outside the Church.

Thus, though this book is unlikely to be the last word on the complex interactions between science, theology, and Latter-day Saint religion, there can be no question that Erich Robert Paul has brought new clarity and depth to the issues. Most Mormon presentations of the science and religion debate—such as Henry Eyring’s \textit{Reflections of a Scientist}\textsuperscript{14} or the more recent essays by Robert Fletcher, Victor Cline, and Carlfred Broderick in \textit{A Thoughtful Faith}\textsuperscript{15}—turn on the ways individuals resolve the dilemmas of personal belief while living in an overwhelmingly secular and scientific culture. While these are unquestionably crucial issues for individuals, such writings give little guidance for evaluating our stance vis à vis science as a cultural and intellectual enterprise. By setting the science-religion debate in its historical context, Paul has presented us with a well-marked guidebook for understanding how we got to where we are.

Where we take the discussion from this point, however, is problematical. What William James called that “passion for unity and smoothness [which] is in some minds so insatiate”\textsuperscript{16} operated in the Middle Ages to claim for religion the role of supreme arbiter of the fundamental questions of life. In the nineteenth century, the claim of conventional theologies for an imperial stewardship over human thought and culture was ceded to science. But that grant of cultural power has brought no peace and precious little insight into the
human condition. Writing at the high-water mark of America's post-
World War II enthusiasm for science, Jacques Barzun observed that
it is not just because science is unfixed, tentative, often backtracking,
and always unorganized that it is unfit for monarchical rule. Far more
disqualifying is its irrelevance in a myriad situations that are of
immediate moment to living beings. The facts that science collects,
the models it invents, the relations it measures, are in those situations
meaningless or disorienting. To live in society, which is to say in
the relations of love, work, conversation, parenthood, or conviviality
calls for judgments incommensurable with those of scientific fact
and truth. 17

Nevertheless, science is an important part of our culture, and its
inseparable companion, technology, provides material benefits we
cannot and, at least in some cases, should not do without.

It appears that the root of our conflict is that, in theology as in
science, we can know and prophesy only in part until "that which is
perfect is come" (1 Cor. 13:10). However, where either science or
theology is uncertain, Latter-day Saints have no reason to resort to
conflict, let alone to warfare. As Paul points out, Mormon theology
makes man and woman necessary, rather than contingent, partners
with God in the creation and redemption of the universe. Hence the
search for meaning in either science or theology, when pursued in
faith with our divinely-ordained intellectual and spiritual endow-
ment, must necessarily be pleasing to God. Given a religion predi-
cated on the belief that God "will yet reveal many great and important
things" (A of F 9) and given a science in which the ground shifts
constantly to incorporate new discoveries and models, it scarcely
makes sense to construct a Maginot Line between the two.

NOTES

1 One minor problem occurs in Paul's explanations of quantum theory and
relativity: relativity is indeed a field theory, but field theory is not opposed to quan-
tum theory. Quantum field theories have shaped cosmology through the theory of
elementary particles and the "Big Bang," as well as providing the basis for modern
condensed matter physics.

2 The two books which shaped the attitudes of individuals toward discussions
of science and religion were both products of the Darwin era: John William Draper's
History of the Conflict between Religion and Science, 8th ed. (New York: Appleton, 1877); and Andrew Dickson White's History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom (New York: Appleton, 1930).


For a popular description of Dirac's insights, see Tyler Wasson, ed., Nobel Prize Winners (New York: Wilson, 1987), 263.


All of this should, in turn, force a complete reinterpretation of many of the mechanistically inspired theories of the social sciences which have made their models so obnoxious in the minds of many contemporary Mormons.

"Visible" as used here refers to what astronomers call "electromagnetically visible" matter—that is, matter which can be seen by radiation in any part of the electromagnetic spectrum ranging from radio- and microwaves through infrared to visible, ultraviolet, and ultimately x-ray energies.

This phrase was coined by Norwood Russell Hanson, Patterns of Discovery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), chapter 1.

Michael Polanyi, The Tacit Dimension (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1983), chapter 3.


For example, Spencer W. Kimball, "To the Uttermost Parts of the Earth," Ensign 9 (July 1979): 2-9.


Henry Eyring, Reflections of a Scientist (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).


Reviewed by Roger R. Keller, Associate Professor of Comparative World Religions at Brigham Young University.

Latter-day Saints are Bible-believing Christians—but with a difference (xx). Such is Philip Barlow’s central thesis. According to him, that difference lies in part in the unique relationship which existed within Mormondom between the Bible, the American religious climate of the early nineteenth century, and the prophetic and creative spirit of the Mormon founder, Joseph Smith. In addition, Barlow indicates that over time an ecclesiastically sanctioned, doctrinal conservatism diminished the impact of some of the more creative luminaries within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, thereby leaving Mormons with “no developed theory or doctrine of scripture adequate for a modern world” (226). In essence, the book attempts to examine the sociological context in which LDS biblical interpretation arose, along with how the Bible was interpreted by select representatives of the Latter-day Saint faith. In the later portions of his book particularly, Barlow contrasts the principles he perceives to be at work among Mormons with the interpretive practices at work in other Christian traditions. Chief among the practices used for comparison is the historical/critical methodology currently employed by numerous Protestant and Catholic biblical scholars.

This book contains an extended preface, an introduction entitled “The Bible in Antebellum America,” and six chapters on various aspects of Latter-day Saint biblical interpretation: (1) “Before Mormonism: Joseph Smith and the Bible, 1820–1830”; (2) “From the Birth of the Church to the Death of the Prophet”; (3) “Diversity and Development: The Bible Moves West”; (4) “The Mormon Response to Higher Criticism”; (5) “Why the King James Version?”; and (6) “The Bible in Contemporary Mormonism.” The content of each chapter is sketched below. My main interest is to make clear Barlow’s methodologies and main presuppositions.
The preface lays the groundwork for the book. Barlow notes that "until we can ascertain whether Mormons have tended to use the Bible in ways that are more like or more unlike those of other American religionists, assertions about Mormon similarity or dissimilarity to American religion more generally remain on insecure ground; the scholarly discussion to date simply lacks a dimension too central to ignore" (ix). Clearly, cultural factors and not merely exegetical principles must be examined, and this volume has a strong sociological base—in my opinion, too strong.

Barlow states briefly his personal allegiances indicating

that I am a practicing Mormon, and second, that I have on many issues a greater personal sympathy for liberal than for conservative religious expressions. Of course, labels can be dangerous. . . . Guided in part by advice from the Book of Mormon, my kind of Latter-day Saint is likely to have as much in common with liberals and moderates of other faiths as with staunch conservatives of his or her own church. (xviii)

He also states his presuppositions. For example, he defines objectivity:

I use it broadly here as a shorthand to connote a method that embraces such values as balance, fairness, openness, integrity, the willingness to be self-critical, honesty in the attempt to present and follow even difficult or painful evidence, a modesty which respects opposing competent views, an absence of dogmatism, and the ability to produce history which seems responsible to diverse but intelligent and informed people of good will. (xvi)

He notes, however, that there are certain areas of life which transcend the methodologies of historical study and which are therefore closed to the historian. Historians can deal only with the visible:

I am convinced that reality has dimensions far transcending human capacities to ascertain. . . . If those forces are discernible at all, though, the discernment must come through private intuitions, or the vision of prophets, or the inspiration of poets, or the speculations of metaphysicians. They are not discernible through the tools of historians, strictly speaking, whose more modest task is to deal with things visible. (xvi)

Having said this, however, Barlow sets a lofty goal: "The historical task can and should be essentially a constructive work for humanity, possibly having as one of its positive goals the distinguishing of moral, spiritual, and intellectual wheat from chaff" (xvii).
The introduction and chapter 1 then examine Joseph Smith in his cultural and religious context before 1830. Chapter 2 traces the development of the Prophet's understanding of scripture and his relationship to it. There is some interesting and very helpful material in these chapters, especially for those who seek to gain an understanding of the milieu in which the restoration of the gospel occurred. Barlow rightly stresses the powerful biblical climate which affected all aspects of early nineteenth-century life. There was a reverence for "unmediated scripture" (7), and scripture—interpreted by the individual—was the great equalizer which enabled men and women to confront the highest secular authorities (8). Such was the environment into which Joseph Smith was born—an environment without any central magisterium to define how one should interpret scripture.

The author also examines Joseph Smith's language against and within this biblically laced society. According to Barlow, Smith's mind was so steeped in biblical thought and phraseology, chiefly that of the King James Version, that such language colored accounts of his visions, the content of the Doctrine and Covenants, and even his memory of reported events. While these assertions have a prima facie ring of plausibility, ultimately they cannot be proved, nor can their implications. Barlow's point that the King James Version influenced Joseph Smith's "memory" of history and other matters would seem to imply that Barlow believes that some of the recorded events may not be fully historical or possibly not technically literal simply because Joseph expressed himself in biblical idioms (14, 19-21).

Barlow couples the above reflections with the argument that the text of the Bible was more fluid for Joseph Smith than it was for his contemporaries. While other people, like the Campbells, believed in the all-sufficiency of scripture, Joseph Smith came to believe that the Bible was open to correction and to additions, either in the text itself or by the addition of other volumes of scripture (57). While asserting this point, Barlow also points out that Joseph held a highly literalistic view of biblical events: "When the Bible reported that God spoke with Moses face to face and that angels appeared to human beings, that was the way it was. Smith knew it to be so because he too had been visited by God and angels. Indeed, his literal
mind set may have helped make such divine appearances possible for him” (65).

In chapters 1 and 2, the author also explores the major influences of the King James Version on Joseph Smith. Barlow talks about the imperfections in the KJV as represented in the corrections to the existing text of Malachi as quoted by Moroni (16–17), which Barlow suggests led to Joseph’s willingness to revise the text of the KJV; “while others set out to correct these imperfections by scholarly means, Smith mended the Bible by revelation” (47). Barlow catalogs six types of revisions that were made in the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, i.e., long passages which claim to restore texts with no biblical parallel; common sense changes; interpretive additions; harmonization; miscellaneous, many of which reflect a propensity to remove italicized words; and, the most common, grammatical improvements, technical clarifications, and modernization of terms (51–53).

The reason Joseph Smith could treat the Old and New Testament texts as he did, according to Barlow, lies, first, in the nineteenth century’s understanding of authorship in which a writer could put words in an historical figure’s mouth (58–60) and, second, in Smith’s prophetic consciousness in which he felt he had received enlightenment from God for the entire world (60–61).

Chapter 2 ends by noting the revelations received during the process of producing the Joseph Smith Translation, the concept of typology which enabled Joseph Smith to see the Church as a new Israel, and the inherent biblicism which was part of his life:

Like many who wrote the Bible, and unlike his nineteenth-century antagonists, he felt his access to Deity was more direct than the written word itself; his authority was therefore at least as great as the text’s. If Sydney Ahlstrom’s and Fawn Brodie’s label of “megalomania” serves any useful purpose in describing such attitudes and practices, we must also remember it is equally applicable to many biblical writers and prophets, with whom Smith himself identified.

... The Bible fundamentally shaped Joseph Smith’s developing thought, and he in turn reshaped biblical theology for himself and for those who followed him. As distinct from his evangelical rivals, he did not seek to enthrone the Bible as final authority; he sought rather to restore the authority, truth, and prophetic gifts recorded in the Bible. (72)
Chapter 3 contrasts the views of Brigham Young and Orson Pratt concerning the place of the Bible in early Mormon thought. Pratt was the leading LDS intellectual of his time and tried to reconcile all Mormon doctrine with the biblical texts. Thus, the Bible spoke prophetically of the restoration. Brigham Young, on the other hand, clearly saw the Bible as one source among many. Biblical truth was reverenced, but modern truths could supersede it. Living revelation and the Spirit made the Bible understandable, not intellectualization. Barlow sees a contrast between these two men, especially when he notes that Pratt was far more tied to the Bible than was either Joseph Smith or Brigham Young (92–94).

At the same time, Barlow highlights further the LDS doctrine that God speaks to his people through living prophets with the following observation on Brigham Young:

Brigham Young, fundamentally a Bible-believer, inherited this distinctive tradition from Smith. His sermons, often self-consciously "secular," were fully as authoritative as the Bible. For him, Mormon doctrine was Bible doctrine. The catch was that scripture, which had been written "by the spirit," had to be interpreted "by the spirit." Unless one understood Mormon theological insights, one did not really understand and believe the Bible. From one angle of vision, this is merely a case of blatant scriptural eisegesis. But as Young read the Bible, only "he who hath eyes to see" could see. (96, italics in original)

Thus, the Bible was limited by living prophets, and therefore the canon was inevitably open (102).

Chapter 4 explores the Latter-day Saint response to higher biblical criticism using the works of B. H. Roberts, Joseph Fielding Smith, and William H. Chamberlin to represent the spectrum of Mormon thought. As noted earlier, Barlow’s sympathies clearly lie with persons open to historical-critical biblical interpretation. Thus, he appears to feel a kinship with the little-known Chamberlin. Chamberlin was trained at the University of Utah, the University of California, and at the University of Chicago. In the latter two universities, he studied philosophy, ancient languages, and biblical criticism (129–34).

According to Barlow, the antithesis to Chamberlin was Joseph Fielding Smith. "He had no use for human knowledge that did not conform to ‘the revealed word of God’ as interpreted by a severe
though selective literalism” (122). Similarly, Barlow reflects on Smith’s interpretative assumptions:

Elder Smith’s most fundamental hermeneutical assumption was that the Bible and other Mormon scriptures were essentially God’s speech in print. . . . Scripture to him represented “actual facts”; history and science were “theory.” . . .

He was simply an ordinary man with extraordinary influence, a man whose loyalty to God, as he understood God, was virtually boundless. . . .

What he lacked—or rejected—was a modern historical consciousness: the conviction that “knowledge of divine things, like knowledge of ordinary things, must be found squarely within the historical process or not at all.” He believed that revelation, ancient and modern, completely transcended history. (126–27)

The author views B. H. Roberts as a midpoint between Chamberlin and Joseph Fielding Smith. Roberts engaged to some degree the biblical scholars who used the historical-critical methodologies in dialogue, but inadequately in Barlow’s mind, since Roberts continued to return to his dominant criticism that the academic methodologies failed to take seriously the possibility that prophetic scripture could foresee the future (116).

Chapter 5 contains the author’s summary of J. Reuben Clark’s arguments for the use of the King James Version of the Bible. Compared with other translations of the Bible, the King James Version, according to President Clark, was

(1) doctrinally more acceptable, (2) verified by the work of Joseph Smith, (3) based on a better Greek text, (4) literarily superior, (5) the version of LDS tradition, and (6) produced by faithful, prayerful churchmen who were amenable to the Holy Spirit rather than by a mixture of believing and unbelieving, or orthodox and heterodox, scholars. (161)

Barlow notes that wording changes in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible which appeared in 1952 concerned Clark and thus led to his writings in defense of the KJV. Of particular concern was what Clark perceived to be a diminution of the divinity of the Savior (162). Interestingly, Barlow appends a chart showing the eight New Testament passages in which Christ’s divinity is potentially affirmed. Of those eight, the New International Version affirms the divinity clearly in seven, the Revised Version in six, the Revised
Standard Version in four, and the King James Version in four (181). He also notes that not all within the Church agreed entirely with Clark’s view of other translations, the most notable being President David O. McKay (169–70). Barlow argues further that Clark subverted his own position when he admitted that he could not understand much of Paul (170).

Above all, Barlow feels that the stance the Church has currently taken with regard to the normative nature of the KJV runs counter to what the Church originally held about the fallible nature of the entire biblical text. It contained error, the very reality that led to the Joseph Smith Translation and the openness of the Church to latter-day scripture (156, 172). Barlow’s position, however, overstates this tension and, at the same time, underemphasizes the several factors that have contributed to the standard use of King James English in Church publications. The real issue for Barlow, then, becomes the Church’s full acceptance of the King James Version in the 1979 LDS edition of the scriptures:

Despite this diversity of opinion in Mormon ranks, Church authorities in 1979 published an “official” LDS edition of the KJV, heavily cross-referenced with other Mormon scriptures. . . .

As they approach the twenty-first century, they have settled on an early-seventeenth-century translation as their official Bible. Unlike many other Christians, any controversy over the issue has been decidedly muted. At least on this matter—though partly for their own distinctive reasons—the Saints have traveled a well-worn path, showing themselves to be more conservative even than most of their evangelical peers. (177–78)

Chapter 6 contrasts the views of Elder Bruce McConkie and those of Lowell Bennion on the Bible. McConkie is viewed as the conservative dogmatist and Bennion as the enlightened humanitarian. In discussing Bruce McConkie’s perspectives on biblical interpretation, Barlow observes:

One can quickly grasp McConkie’s essential perspective on the Bible by attending to five dimensions of his approach: his disdain for higher criticism, his criteria for proper interpretation, his concern for “correct doctrine,” his selective commitment to literalism and inerrancy, and the limitations he put on biblical authority without imposing them on revelation generally. (187)
He sees Lowell Bennion as a distinct contrast to McConkie, especially in his attitude toward the interpretation of scripture. He feels that by the 1960s Bennion was recognized by some LDS scholars as being “among the seven most eminent intellectuals in Mormon history,” having published numerous books and articles on a wide range of topics (195). In Barlow’s view, Bennion by his own admission was a “liberal.” This meant that the overriding concern for Bennion was not theology, but rather justice and mercy (199). Bennion’s assessment of valid interpretation of scripture hinged on whether “it (1) is consistent with gospel fundamentals as defined above, (2) is confirmed by the prompting of the Holy Spirit, (3) appeals to thoughtful ethical judgment, (4) has won wide agreement among informed and rational persons of good will, (5) allows for the human as well as the divine in revelation, and (6) is primarily concerned with scripture’s religious intent” (203–4).

On the basis of this analysis, the dominant difference between McConkie and Bennion is that McConkie stresses revelation to the limiting of reason, while Bennion, too, believes in revelation, but does not believe that it is contrary to natural human reason. Using his discussion of the differences between the conservative McConkie and the liberal Bennion, Barlow once again returns, at the end of the chapter, to his assessment of the 1979 scriptures released by the Church. He feels that they represent a distinct conservatism that does not reflect the whole of the Mormon community.

However, as I have argued, Mormon scriptural understandings are not monolithic. Hence what is most interesting for present purposes is not the mere fact that Mormon theology is proffered in the new biblical supplements but, rather, the kind of Mormon theology expressed. The interpretations adopted in these supplements are far closer to Bruce McConkie’s view—in many cases they are McConkie’s views—than to Lowell Bennion’s. (209)

Thus, according to Barlow, the conservative influence in the Church, particularly represented by McConkie, has been so all-encompassing that there exists no modern, informed scholarship on biblical issues among Mormons and more than occasional doses of literalism (227).

Mormons have no developed theory or doctrine of scripture adequate for a modern world. Lowell Bennion’s efforts are a thoughtful begin-
ning by a nonspecialist but, naturally, they do not enjoy official stature. . . .

Yet the Church’s constant urging to “study the scriptures”—without any serious discussion of scripture’s nature, and coupled with what are implied to be the normative views of the 1979 biblical supplements and the recent generation of religious educational publications based not on informed scholarship but on dogmatic concerns—insures a minimum of competent thought about a quintessential aspect of Mormonism. (226)

The consequences of this are that “the majority of Mormons remain in a hermeneutical Eden, innocent of a conscious philosophy of interpretation” (227).

In summary, Barlow’s efforts in this book are provocative. He raises questions which many will feel need to be addressed and which many others will feel have already been answered. He certainly shows streams of thought that have been present to a greater or lesser extent in the Church, but his presentation tends to accentuate and imply the existence of a greater gulf between the various persons examined than actually in fact may have existed. In this sense, his work does not yield an entirely balanced representation of the typical LDS experience with the Bible.

One final issue needs attention. While the book is predominantly concerned with a historical and sociological analysis, there is another dimension obvious to those versed in the hermeneutical discussions (discussions about how one interprets the Bible) carried on in the twentieth century. In the final analysis, Barlow’s book revives, in a Mormon context, the hermeneutical debate that began in the 1930s between Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann, and Bultmann’s successors. In 1927, Barth published his first attempt at a systematic theology under the title *Die christliche Dogmatik im Entwurf* (Christian Dogmatics in Outline). He then stopped his work to write a commentary on St. Anselm’s *Fides Quaerens Intellectum* (Faith Seeking Understanding). When he returned to his theological project, he returned with a new vision, realizing that what he wanted to say could not be cast in the language of nonfaith, but could be said only in categories that had meaning within the community of the faith, i.e., within the Church. To the world of nonfaith, the categories of revelation, inspiration of the Spirit, and the divine sonship of Jesus
Christ were meaningless. Thus, Barth started the theological process over, this time writing *Church Dogmatics*. Because of Barth’s move away from interpreting the Christian faith in philosophical terms and categories, Rudolf Bultmann accused Barth of ceasing to interpret scripture and of returning to a naive biblical literalism and dogmatism that should not be tolerated in the modern world. Bultmann believed that the language of the Bible was time bound and needed to be “demythologized” or more accurately “existentialized.” Existential philosophy, coupled with historical/critical analysis, could remove the chaff from the grain.

Bultmann’s successors suggested other hermeneutical keys for getting at the true meaning of the text. For Gerhard Ebeling, man is a linguistic being, subject to words, thus the “word event” finds a correspondence in man. For Wolfhart Pannenberg, the historical event, in its historical context, is the revelatory event.

These efforts, apart from Karl Barth’s, had one thing in common—a basic optimism about human reason and a reticence about revelation. The situation appears to be similar with Barlow’s book. Because he, with his chosen tools, cannot or does not access continuing revelation, prophets, and an active Holy Spirit who inspires understanding in readers of the Bible, he seeks to find Mormon interpretive principles in places different from where Mormon leaders have always claimed them to be found, i.e., in the Spirit of revelation. Thus, Barlow, by sympathizing with modern historical-critical methodologies, abandons the historical Mormon hermeneutic and in effect significantly limits the scope and value of his enterprise, which is to ascertain how Mormons have interpreted the Bible. To comprehend adequately the principles upon which Mormon hermeneutics are based, the categories of the theologian are essential. The tools of the historian are not wholly adequate to the task.

NOTES

1If, as Barlow suggests, the historian’s task is to deal with the visible, one must wonder how historians can identify moral and spiritual truths, both of which have their roots in a plane beyond the visible realm.
2For most Latter-day Saints this is not surprising, for the prophets (like Joseph and Brigham) are the conduit for new truths that have not yet been made known to others (like Pratt).

3Both Luther and Calvin held positions on the Spirit much like that of Brigham Young. Reason alone, the tools of the scholar, or the authority of the Church were insufficient for an adequate interpretation of scripture. Apart from the Spirit, there was no true interpretation. John Dillenberger states: “Luther’s use of the term ‘right reason’ ... was a demand for sensible interpretation of Scripture against the presumptuous claims of the Church. ... Such interpretation involved being grasped by the Biblical Word and the Spirit conjoined in such a way that one was laid hold of by more than what the text said. It was being grasped in one’s depth, being redirected in one’s total being, including heart and mind, by the living Word.” John Dillengerger, ed., *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961), xxxi. Similarly, Calvin’s heading to book 1, chapter 7, in the *Institutes* leaves little doubt where he stood on the role of the Spirit: “Scripture Must Be Confirmed by the Witness of the Spirit. Thus May Its Authority Be Established as Certain; and It Is a Wicked Falsehood that Its Credibility Depends on the Judgment of the Church.” John T. McNeill, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols., *The Library of Christian Classics* series, vol. 20 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), 1:74.

4Fundamental to Mormonism is the belief that it is not a particular translation which makes the Bible understandable, but rather the Spirit of God which takes any imperfect translation and makes the text clear to the reader. Secondly, Latter-day Saints see themselves as a people under the authority of a living prophet. It was the prophet of God, in this case Harold B. Lee, who made the decision to use the King James text in the 1979 edition of the scriptures for official Church purposes in English-speaking areas. See the article “Bible: King James Version,” in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillian, 1991). Since Latter-day Saints believe the prophet to be inspired, they need not question that institutional decision. Having said this, however, any Latter-day Saint is free to consult other translations to assist in the interpretative process as directed by the Spirit.

5Barlow’s footnote 44 on page 198 states: “Bennion’s definition of a religious (Mormon) liberal denotes a person with an ethical emphasis, who is concerned with people more than with doctrine, who is prepared to adapt the theology and structure of a church to serve human values, and who is open-minded and free to think rather than feeling obligated a priori to accept the pronouncements of either scripture or human authority figures.” Barlow cites “A Saint for All Seasons: An Interview with Lowell L. Bennion,” *Sunstone* 10 (February 1985): 7-17; and Lowell L. Bennion, “Being a ‘Liberal,’” in *Do Justly and Love Mercy: Moral Issues for Mormons* (Centerville, Utah: Canon Press, 1988), 85-94.

6It seems to the reviewer that Barlow makes a sharper dichotomy between Bennion and McConkie than is necessary. Neither position is absolutely exclusive of the other. The dominant difference is in emphasis, even though the two individuals in question may have felt that they were quite removed from one another.


Reviewed by Brian Q. Cannon, Assistant Professor of History at Brigham Young University.

In this work, Bruce Van Orden, associate professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, surveys and analyzes the life of George Reynolds. The author assigns Reynolds to a “second-echelon” of Latter-day Saint leaders “whose influence was considerable during their lives but whose names are not easily recognized by most Church members today” (viii).

Although Reynolds (the husband of three wives and the father of thirty-two children) is best remembered today for his role in testing the constitutionality of the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act in the United States Supreme Court, he fulfilled a variety of ecclesiastical and civic responsibilities. Reynolds’s activities included service as a secretary to the First Presidency from 1865 to 1909, membership in the First Council of the Seventy, service as a missionary and Church emigration agent in Britain, and zealous labor as a Sunday School administrator. As proof of Reynolds’s contribution to gospel scholarship, Van Orden lists in an appendix eight books, including the monumental *Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon*, and 463 articles. Reynolds was, Van Orden maintains, “one of the most influential people in the Church” from 1870 until his death in 1909 (vii).

Van Orden draws upon an impressive array of primary sources as he surveys Reynolds’s life. Information from court records, quorum and ward minutes, newspapers, correspondence, Reynolds’s five journals covering the years 1861 to 1906, and his published writings enliven and enrich this biography. Students of Mormon, Utah, and legal history will find this work useful.

As Van Orden observes, Reynolds’s life casts fresh light upon important aspects of LDS Church history. As a secretary to the First Presidency, for instance, Reynolds recorded revelations as they were dictated by John Taylor and wrote brief but illuminating accounts of the revelatory process in his own journals. He also
attended and kept minutes of crucial deliberations of the Council of the Twelve regarding succession in the Presidency following the death of John Taylor and helped to revise and edit the 1890 Manifesto in preparation for its release to the press.

Given the intriguing excerpts from diaries and letters that Van Orden quotes in this book, one can only wish that Reynolds had written more in his journal about his involvement with the Council of the Twelve and the First Presidency. Reynolds may have been as patient and forbearing as Van Orden suggests, but he recorded pithy, incisive assessments of the character of his associates and of the nature of administrative challenges. When federal appointees made life difficult for the Mormons in the 1870s, for instance, Reynolds complained in a letter to his father-in-law that the Mormons had become “‘pissing posts for every hell hound that is sent here as governor, judge, marshall &c.’” (39). In his missionary diary, Reynolds described the youthful Francis M. Lyman as “‘a severe commanding spirit, full of the go-ahead Yankee with uncompromising resolutions to overcome evil, a Mormon every inch’” (13).

Unfortunately, Reynolds emerges in many places in this book as a perceptive individual whose journals add fewer new insights to Mormon history than one might expect, given the fact that he worked so intimately with four prophets. The reader will come away from this book with only a partial understanding of Reynolds’s views and experiences because it is based upon a fragmentary record: Van Orden labored under a disadvantage in writing about Reynolds, lacking access to the full corpus of Reynolds’s writings, including Reynolds’s minutes of key Church councils.

Van Orden deserves commendation for his focus upon an individual whose primary accomplishments lay in the realm of ideas as a theologian and scriptionian. He seriously probes those ideas and convincingly contends that Reynolds’s work strongly influenced scriptionians and leaders from B. H. Roberts to Gordon B. Hinckley. Furthermore, he shows that even Reynolds’s somewhat amateurish studies of Book of Mormon geography and Egyptology established a precedent for serious scholarly study of the Book of Mormon and Pearl of Great Price.

One of the strengths of this book is the manner in which Van Orden places Reynolds’s ideas within the context of the times
and distinguishes his original contributions from others’ ideas that were incorporated within his scriptural commentaries. For instance, the author traces many of Reynolds’s ideas regarding membership of the Anglo-Saxons within the house of Israel to a secular “cult of the Anglo-Saxon” that attracted many adherents in the Victorian era; then Van Orden shows how Reynolds rejected some of the major tenets of this school of thought. Likewise, he shows how Reynolds responded to anti-Mormon allegations regarding the Spaulding manuscript by melding others’ arguments with Reynolds’s own research and ideas.

As the biography of a member of the “second-echelon” of Church leaders, this work makes a modest step in the direction of social history—the study of ordinary people rather than great figures. Although he did not belong to the first echelon of Church leaders, Reynolds was clearly extraordinary in terms of his ecclesiastical positions. Nevertheless, as Van Orden shows, Reynolds differed little from the average resident in Salt Lake City in terms of wealth, and his polygamous marriages resembled the average in terms of timing, living arrangements, and spousal relationships.

In identifying the significance of Reynolds’s life, Van Orden focuses, as biographers of great figures traditionally have, upon service rendered in prominent administrative positions and on tangible accomplishments such as Reynolds’s writings. Another reason for George Reynolds’s significance, albeit one that Van Orden does not emphasize, is the fact that his life and journals reveal much about the experiences and emotions of ordinary people, ranging from missionary service to relations between parents and children in an era when death frequently claimed the lives of children in infancy and early childhood.

Readers with an interest in social history will appreciate Van Orden’s care in extracting and presenting information regarding family relations in Reynolds’s polygamous household and the practical arrangements that fathers and husbands were required to make prior to their departure on missionary assignments. Van Orden reports, for instance, that when Reynolds’s second wife Amelia complained to her imprisoned husband that he wrote more frequently to Polly, the first wife, than to her, he responded, “Last night after
receiving your letter I counted up and find I have written . . . twenty letters to you and sixteen to Polly, or five to you to every four to her. So you see your complaints on that score are not just’” (110). This book leaves one yearning for even more details about Reynolds's private life—his reactions, for instance, to the death of a child or his feelings about the necessity of masquerading as a woman to attend his wife's funeral during the raid against polygamists—and more attempts to extrapolate from his experiences to those of others who lived at his time.

One of the sterling accomplishments of this work involves Van Orden's careful reconstruction of the evolution of the Reynolds court case. Van Orden dismantles the myth that Reynolds volunteered for this role and casts doubt upon the notion that Reynolds's poor health in his later life resulted from his incarceration following his conviction. The author shows that what commenced as a cooperative effort on the part of ecclesiastical and federal officials to test the constitutionality of the Morrill Act evolved into a bitter rivalry, with Church leaders doing their utmost to prevent Reynolds's conviction. This research demonstrates that this failure to cooperate with federal officials predisposed President Rutherford B. Hayes to reject pleas for a commutation of Reynolds's prison sentence.

On balance, this attractively illustrated and gracefully written biography merits careful attention. Readers will find themselves agreeing with Van Orden that Reynolds's life and writings help to illuminate “some of the most important events, issues, and individuals in LDS Church history” (viii).

Reviewed by Ronald W. Walker, Senior Research Associate, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Church History, and Professor of History at Brigham Young University.

What to do? A respected colleague dies, leaving an important but unfinished manuscript. Gene Sessions, Professor of History at Weber State University, answered that question by sorting through almost a dozen drafts of a book-length manuscript left by his friend Don Moorman and bringing them to publication.

Moorman was a fixture at several Utah archives before his death in 1980. A transplanted Illinoisan who had found the ways and history of new friends in Utah to be compelling, Moorman first hoped to write a Brigham Young biography. For almost two decades he worked. His hard labor put together one of the finest collections of Brigham Young material now available for research, currently housed at Weber State University where he ended his teaching career.

Somewhere along the way, Moorman became diverted from his first task. Instead of biography, he resolved to tell the story of the Utah Expedition—the U.S. Army force that came West in 1857 to quell the so-called “Mormon Rebellion” and then stayed three years to “keep the peace.” Establishing Camp Floyd in Rush Valley, thirty-five miles northwest of Provo, the two thousand or more dragoons, infantrymen, auxiliaries, and camp followers had a short but remarkable effect on Utah development. In 1861 the Civil War summoned the army back East.

“Keeping the peace” meant keeping the Mormons at bay. It had little to do with domestic tranquillity, as Moorman’s colorful anecdotes constantly remind the reader. A third of the manuscript’s sixteen chapters are devoted to the raucous turmoil that the army brought to Utah—either at Camp Floyd itself, in nearby Fairfield, Utah, or at the very center of the Saints’ Zion, Great Salt Lake City, itself. There, the social change was so manifest (and unfortunate) that President Brigham Young contemptuously renamed Main Street “Whiskey Street” and for many years refused to walk down its
sidewalks. More than drinking, the neighborhood had gaming, prostitution, robberies, and more than an occasional homicide.

Moorman might have broadened his title to include the army's work on the overland trail. Five chapters deal with the role of the dragoons in Great Basin trail-making or with their attempts to defend the California road from Paiute and Shoshoni raiders, who were, it seems, abetted by white ruffians. At first these impoverished west-desert Indians, whom travelers derisively called root "Diggers," were badly mistreated by some of the California emigrants. But by the late 1850s, the natives had learned enough of the white man's ways to give almost as much as they got and often had the California road in tumult.

Moorman provides several counterpoints to these larger themes, and each of the secondary topics probably deserves more extended treatment than they receive. There are chapters on the contest between Mormon leaders and federal territorial appointees, when Associate Judge John C. Cradlebaugh and his civil and military friends tried to wrest control of the territory from the Mormons. We are also briefly told about the considerable impact of the gentile "invasion" on the region's economy. Finally, Moorman tells of that awful catastrophe which present-day Mormons neatly sanitize with the brief caption, the "tragedy of Mountain Meadows." It was, of course, far, far more than that.

Here is enough for a gripping book, and no doubt it is its very theatrical quality that led Moorman to the topic. He likes a good story. He piles colorful anecdote upon anecdote, scene upon scene, and in the process adds much new information, particularly to an understanding of the Mountain Meadows killings. In the future, anyone interested in the themes of the book would do well to consult it. Its freshness argues in its favor.

But he or she must be careful. This is wheat and chaff history. Wheat may predominate, but it is often found in loose kernels, lacking the smoothness of a refined and integrated narrative. Chapters, passages, and even paragraphs are often episodic. Synthesis and interpretation are thin. And the style—well, this is always a matter of personal taste. My view is that Moorman's writing is much overdone, striving too often for effect or frequently reaching for
the right word but not quite finding it. A couple of chapters into the
text some readers will wonder if Moorman ever met a noun that he
didn’t wish to modify—or a verb that he didn’t try to intensify.

Historians have done much with the “Utah Expedition.” There
are perhaps three or four score theses, articles, and books that deal
wholly or partly with the topic, but most of these Moorman has
chosen to set aside in favor of primary sources. Such an approach
has advantages, but in Moorman’s case it limits his ability to reach a
synthesis—to provide an understanding of what all the incidents
and events of his narrative mean. This tendency is made more acute
by the failure to use the secondary literature of the past decade or
two, after Moorman stopped his research and began writing.

The book, then, is much as Moorman left it—a manuscript
awaiting the painful but necessary molding into a final draft. Gene
Sessions, who prepared the text for publication, seems aware of
the resulting deficiencies but justifies the lack of remedial labor
on the grounds of personal loyalty. “Don was an intensely proud
scholar who would have been unhappy with any distortion of his
work,” Sessions writes. “Our loyalty to him served as a constant
sentinel as we undertook the privilege of ‘finishing’ his book” (xv).

Perhaps. On the other hand, all scholars accept the need for
revising, and even the best writers understand the difference be-
tween overwriting and good writing, which often requires just
another draft, perhaps with the help of a fine editor. Nor would
most scholar willingly deny themselves the benefit of the views and
findings of the last twenty years’ work on a topic.

A critic’s job is not to carp about what might have been, but
to judge the product for what it tries to be. Given this reminder,
Moorman’s book may be praised for its contribution as a post-
humous and unfinished publication. It enlightens. Its judgments
are often astute and almost unvaryingly balanced. It is often an
enjoyable “read.” We learn. We are the better for having it.
Brief Notices

*Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History* (Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1990, 1992)

More people ought to know about a valuable series of studies in Church history coming out of the BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine. Each year, BYU religion faculty members have concentrated their attention on a selected region important to Latter-day Saints. The results are informatively documented, comfortably written and well indexed, and they tell some good stories.

*British Isles* (1990). This volume looks at LDS origins in America and England, John Lothrop (ancestor of Joseph Smith), social and religious conditions in England in the 1800s, early publications of the Pearl of Great Price and the *Millennial Star*, as well as the main LDS developments in the British Isles in this century. England is an interesting area where the Church has come home, where it has both roots and now branches.

*Ohio* (1990). These eight discussions relive the move in 1831 from New York to Ohio, revelations and mobbings in Hiram, hymns and publications of W. W. Phelps, the Kirtland Hebrew School, the coming forth of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Kirtland Temple, mummies, papyri, and the exodus from Kirtland in 1837. Here are birth pains, growing pains, but also window panes.

*New York* (1992). The largest in this series, this collection offers new material relevant to Palmyra in the 1820s; Asael Smith (the Prophet's grandfather); Orson Pratt's defense of the First Vision examined in light of the surviving accounts of that manifestation; all known visits by Moroni; the name Cumorah; the Church's acquisition of the hill; Joseph Smith's in-law problems; John Gilbert's typesetting of the Book of Mormon; the organization of the Church in 1830; the conversions of Thomas B. Marsh, Brigham Young, and W. W. Phelps; the relations between Joseph's work on the Bible and revelation; and the "miraculous" 1964 New York World's Fair. This volume shows the reader the people, places, and events that were a part of New York's Mormon history, where the Church arose amid the ashes of the "Burned-over District" in western New York. Although the Saints moved to the Intermountain West, New York remained a vital part of LDS history as birthplace of many of the Church's early leaders, port of entry for the majority of LDS immigrants from Europe, and, presently,
home of many important Church historical sites.

—John W. Welch and Boley T. Thomas

_The Book of Mormon: Helaman through 3 Nephi 8, According to Thy Word_, edited by Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr. (BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992)

Perhaps no portion of the Book of Mormon will better prepare a people for the Second Coming than Helaman through 3 Nephi 8, the record of the years prior to the destructions accompanying Christ’s crucifixion and his visit to the Nephites. Commenting upon this portion of the Book of Mormon, President Benson wrote, “In the Book of Mormon we find a pattern for preparing for the Second Coming... By careful study of that time period, we can determine why some were destroyed in the terrible judgments that preceded His coming and what brought others to stand at the temple in the land of Bountiful and thrust their hands into the wounds of His hands and feet” (A Witness and a Warning [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988], 20–21).

Seventh in the Religious Studies Center’s series on the Book of Mormon, this is a collection of seventeen essays delivered at its annual symposium in 1992. Topics include the nature of the covenant between God and the inhabitants of the promised land, patterns of apostasy, the doctrine of calling and election in relation to Nephi, doctrines and truths restored in the book of Helaman, ways in which modern people are repeating some of the same mistakes made by the Nephites, the process of sanctification, Nephite trade networks and the dangers of a class society, wickedness and vengeance, and secret covenant teachings of men and Satan.

—Andrew Teasdale

_A Gift of Faith: Elias Hicks Blackburn, Pioneer, Patriarch, and Healer_, by Voyle L. Munson and Lillian S. Munson (Basin/Plateau Press, 1991)

This biography, originally produced for Blackburn’s descendants, deserves wider attention. In an age when religious healings were not uncommon, Elias Hicks Blackburn (1827–1908) was nevertheless remarkable for the hundreds of healings he mediated through his “gift of faith” and his knack for doctoring. He served not only the people in his own and surrounding counties, but also those who traveled from as far away as Canada and Mexico to general conference partly to meet him and be healed. He often spent entire days administering to people. Many of his healings are recounted in detail.

Blackburn’s years of dedication to his church also included a move from Pennsylvania to Nauvoo and from there to Utah; relief work for the Willie and Martin handcart companies; a mission to England; and service as first bishop of Provo, Utah, and, later, bishop to all of Rabbit Valley and patriarch to the Sevier Stake.

Extensively researched and rechecked for accuracy, the book is
written in a straightforward, readable style. Often, the authors have allowed Blackburn to speak for himself through quotations from his diaries. The book is further enriched by several maps, reproductions of key documents, and many photographs by professional photographer Gary B. Peterson and others.

—Doris R. Dant


When _Sisters in Spirit_ first appeared, it was one of only a handful of scholarly works about Mormon women collectively (as opposed to works focusing biographically on an individual’s experiences). It also broke ground as the first scholarly book to discuss several cultural issues affecting the self-identity of an American Mormon woman. Those who missed _Sisters in Spirit_ in 1987 may want to take advantage of this new printing; its articles are still basic to a discussion of Mormon culture.

Some of the articles seek to clarify the present through the perspective of Mormonism’s past. Jill Mulvay Derr traces the rise and the fall and the signs of a rekindling of communal sisterhood. Linda P. Wilcox also notes the workings of diversity: “The widening ‘theology’ [concerning Heavenly Mother] which is developing is more of a ‘folk,’ or at least speculative, theology than a systematic development by theologians or a set of definitive pronouncements from ecclesiastical leaders. For the moment, Mother in
Heaven can be almost whatever an individual Mormon envisions her to be" (74).

These articles have stimulated research and discussion, both of which have been further fueled by the diversity of Mormon women themselves.

—Doris R. Dant

Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons, by Lawrence Foster (Syracuse University Press, 1991)

"Gentiles rush in where Saints fear to tread" might be a good summary for Lawrence Foster's Women, Family, and Utopia. Drawing on his research published in Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) and previously published articles, Foster looks at women in the Shaker, Oneida, and Mormon communities. Despite Foster's efforts to provide a continuing thread to tie the theories together, the book still reads like disconnected essays.

The information is not all a rehash, though. Foster "updates" the chapters by including modern feminist jargon and trying to imagine how women of today would view the positions of their sisters in the past. With respect to the Mormons, he believes that the Church gave women liberating opportunities in the nineteenth century but is repressive today, and he attempts to analyze data according to that hypothesis. Foster, however, fails to recognize that Mormon women in the past were not as emancipated as he supposes, and he oversimplifies the complex queries female Latter-day Saints deal with today.

Yet he is willing to ask the hard questions about women in the Mormon Church, past and present, that some "inside" scholars might shy away from. Foster at least gives us a point from which to begin a discussion.

—Jessie Embry

Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, annotated by Richard Galbraith (Deseret Book, 1993)

Before buying this hefty volume, take a good look. When I first saw this book's cover, I was thrilled: here (I thought) is a new book discussing Joseph Smith's teachings about various scriptural topics. Instead I was surprised to find a verbatim reprinting of the familiar 1976 edition of Joseph Fielding Smith's 1938 Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, augmented with three brief additions, one alteration, and thousands of scripture reference footnotes.

Those footnotes were generated by computer searching, a procedure that hits a few real gems but also tons of unsifted scree. Some footnotes lead the reader to specific quotes, but others are based on single words or loose verbal or conceptual similarities. I would have appreciated some indication of which word or phrase is tied to each scripture reference, how the less-obvious scriptures are pertinent to the text, or when one might believe
that Joseph Smith had these particular scriptures in mind as he spoke.

While this book will serve well to encourage more meticulous study of the teachings of Joseph Smith in light of his unparalleled scriptural fluency, the volume missed a good opportunity to utilize some of the recent textual research on the words of Joseph Smith.

Nevertheless, the title has an undeniable lure to it. It will undoubtedly sell like hotcakes.

—John W. Welch


If the temple is to be seen as the cosmic mountain, then think of this book as a mountaineering guide. A good guide knows the terrain, the routes of ascent, the weather, the equipment, and everything necessary to lead a party successfully to the summit. More than that, a good guide loves to climb.

*Temple and Cosmos* puts the temple on the map and marks all the main features of its idealized topography and eternal coordinates. It discusses temple gear, clothing, compasses, symbols, holy ground, and the rules of the trail as one makes the step-by-step journey upward into the presence of the Lord. It expands the enjoyment of each vista that opens beneath the rising trekker, and it exults in the view from the top. It reminisces with others like Adam, Moses, Benjamin, apostles of Jesus, and the Prophet Joseph, who have left their names in the registry at the cairn on the lofty summit. The book contains sixteen chapters, essays, talks, articles, notes, and comments, together with copious illustrations.

No guide is perfect, but every page of this book reflects the wisdom of an old man of the mountains—one whose deep love of the peak and whose constant attention to its details have produced remarkable insights and the impelling desire to share them with others. I can't think of a better guide to do some climbing with. And after all, you wouldn't want to climb Mt. Everest without an expert along.

—John W. Welch
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